T

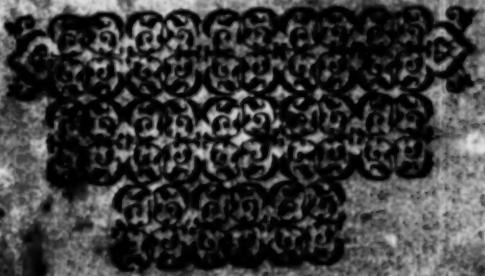
Course of Conformitie

proceeded,

As it { Is concluded,
Should be refused.

PSALM. 94. 20.

Shall the throne of iniquitie haue fellowship with me, which frameth mischiefe by a law.



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THE PREFACE
TO THE READER.

IN the restlesse revolution of this troublesome [illegible] driving everie person and purpose to their [illegible], all being under vanitie, one generation [illegible] ther succeedeth with as many grievous novelt[illegible] alterations: Mutation the inseparable companion of [illegible], like a Princesse presuming upon the kingdoms, [illegible] and families of the earth. But by the soveraigne providence of that unchangeable God, who directeth the steps of man, and hath put in his own power the time to plant and the time to pluck up that which is planted, is so overweyed & in the most variable and different humors of men so limited, that some as the scoffers of the last dayes, laughing at mutation, say, Where is the promise of his comming: Others, to wit, the wicked man in his prosperitie, persecuteth the poore, saying he shall never be moved: A third sort, viz. the slavish time-server, like soft waxe, flexible to every new forme, boweth to mutation, making her variant colours his crowne and contentment: And the best sort, the wise Christian, hating change and loving constancie, striveth to walk circumspectly, redeeming the time from the dangerous current. All these, and others whatsoever, whether by sinne irregular, or by grace sincere and straight, by supreme wisedome, are so disposed that they must needs serve the holy projects of Iustice and Mercie for the honour of God, and salvation of his chosen.

In this continuall course Mutation so prevaileth upon succeeding generations, that as they are distant from the first times, they decline from primitive innocencie, and as they ap-

proach to the later dayes, they participate of their evils. Yea so forcible is Defection (the daughter of this Mutation) in the congregations of the faithfull, that the vacant places of the righteous departed are seldome or never filled againe, their labours followeth them, and they are forgotten. If the kirk bee in Ægypt, Ioseph dieth, and there ariseth a new king there who knew not Ioseph. When the people enters into the land, Iosua and that generation is gathered to their fathers, and another generation ariseth up after them which neither knoweth the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Israel by Moses and Iosua, in Ægypt, at the red sea, in the wildernesse, and at the entrance into the promised land. And in the land it selfe, after Athaliahs troubles Ioash, whose life was saved by Iehoiada, and in whose dayes he did that which was righteous in the sight of the Lord, after his death harkneth to the Princes who make obeysance to the King, and leaving the house of the Lord God of their fathers, serve idols, but Ioash remembreth not the kindnesse done by Iehoiada, but slayeth his sonne.

As by these strange alterations fearfull eclipses were brought upon the face of common honesty, likely to banish religion out of the earth, so under the ends of the world surpassing the preceeding generations in loue decayed, and iniquitie multiplied, if it were not the rich mercy and undeserved loue of the Lord not to suffer the rod of the wicked to rest upō the lot of the righteous, but now and then in the middest of confusions brought on by Mutation, to refresh them under the sweet shadowes of peace and prosperitie, the very elect could hardly escape. If adversitie beare the sway, the people of God are in hazard to put out their hands to evill: and if prosperitie prevaile, then the kingdome of heaven is likened unto a man who sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept, his enemie came and sowed tares among the wheat, which may not be gathered up till the harvest, lest the wheat also be rooted up with them. When the Lord his field shall be once infected with such venemous mixture of false teachers, & their fooliſh disciples, renouncing their own libertie, & slavishly submitting

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themselues without triall to follow their seducers in lasciviousnes and avarice for atchieving their own vitious hopes, if Israel were not poured from vessel to vessel, they should freese upon their dreggs like Moab, & so loose not only their comely countenance, but the health and life of their substantiall estate: the deceitful colours of these supervenient weeds so dazling the eyes of the common sort, for the most part more naturall then spirituall, and either vailed with black ignorance, or blind hypocrisie, that religió in her native simplicitie & purity seemeth to them an handmaid rather then a mistres, if she bee not busked with some new guise of one alteration or other.

In this change, if a Priest or a Levit, or any of the ancient shall happen to weep for the first Temple, by the meanes of mutation thus defaced, or enquire for the old way, by ignorance in the reasonlesse multitude, by pride in high places, and perversitie of reputed learning, he maketh himselfe a prey, a troubler of Israel, and not meet to liue. There ariseth no small stirre about that way, whole cities are filled with confusion, and the cry goeth up for the Diana of the time. If Paul himselfe were gotten, he would not passe with *pestilent fellow*, but stone him to the death before he be heard; yea when the furie of Mutation inflameth the minds of Barbarians, if they see a viper of adversity on a mans hand, they say surely he is a murtherer, and if no inconvenience follow, he is a God. So madly are the hearts of men set in them, privily to blind themselues with the beams of their own particulars, and the world with open shew of seeming zeale for justice and religion.

The toyles & tossings of these Circæan changes, are ever so unsavourie to a man of a quiet spirit, that if the wronged innocencie of a just cause, shameless violence done to the rights & priviledges of religion, and the intolerable pride practised against famous kirks vnheard, could be eloised up in any tolerable silence, honest men knowing very well that the railings of reprochers never woundeth a good conscience, could rather choose to sustaine a legion of bitter aspersions, for peace to preach the Gospell, then either to interrupt their owne tranquilitie, or giue the least cause of suspition to any,

that they were brought from the sweet course of their pure, peaceable, and simple wisedome, to contend for their impured fame and reputation, and so to hinder the preaching of Christ. For what matter is it though men be despised, disgraced and scorned, so long as the Lord may bee honoured thereby. But when the night of securitie shall bee so dark, and shamelesse pride ascend to such a height, that not onely the lower sort, but men of great spirits and places can with a deafe eare passe by the wrongs done to sincere professours, faithfull ministers and martyrs of good memorie, but by a sort of brutish patience, suffer a substantiall truth to be borne down, and blasphemed, and for a forlorne tradition, or worm-eaten ceremonie shamefully shot forth; yea a setled forme of godlinesse by long and happy experience universally approved, to be displaced for far-fetched devices of needlesse novelties; and the best subiects, walking in knowledge of their dutie, & conscientious conversation, without any just cause openly traduced, that they are not Cæsars friends, in a false policie to make the righteous cause odious to authoritie. If there be any children of Moses, to esteeme the rebuke of Christ greater riches then the treasures of the world, or of zealous Elihu, to haue his wrath kindled against violence done to a just cause, & wrongs to harmlesse men otherwise deserving, with what cares shall he heare the terrour of that trumpet, *If we deny him, he will also deny us*, and the spirit of grace with courage raising his blast by a sweeter inforcement, *If we suffer with him, we shall also reigne together*: especially now in these back-sliding dayes, when men who not onely seemed most forward to root out Papists, but zealous that reformation then professed by themselues, and praised as the work of God, might stand and grow; haue now by some secret (but strange) inspiration of inchanting Mutation, not onely sharpned their tongues, that their words might be as the pricking of a sword, but also dippped their pens in gall to write and speak against their brethren; and for a muddy and mysticall conformitie (who can tell to what) but abhorred in Scotland ever since reformation, as the rest of the Roman trash, howsoever of late, without shame of contrarie practises

ſiſes in mens owne perſons, hurled in againe to be the wall and tower of new Epiſcopacie, cummingly brought in by her Intrant the conſtant Moderator, and ſolemnly ſet up to remain the Atlas of their kingdome, with full power of Lordly domination to be exerciſed over the kirk for the fiue Articles, the fundamentall lawes of that uſurped authoritie, and to put forth and hold forth the lawfull and neceſſarie aſſemblies of the kirk, as enemies to the power of Princes. But contrarily both reaſon and experience making plaine, that the kings of the earth were never preſſed downe with any lawfull aſſembly Eccleſiaſticall, or any way diſſeyſed of kirk Iuriſdiction, with which the Lord originally had poſſeſſed them: but Epiſcopacie, as time hath favoured her inſatiable deſires, by diſpoſſeſſing and bringing downe both kings and kirks, hath ſet up and holdeth up Papiſtrie, ever evill maſters, like fire and water, but never better ſervants then treacherous ſlaues lying in wait to oppreſſe their maſters.

It may be that the Patrones and urgers of this courſe wittingly aime not at the reducing of Papiſtrie, and for any thing yet known, charitie would they ſhould not beo miſdeemed in that groſſe ſinne. Nevertheleſſe, as a certaine learned man ſayth of ſome of the Ancients, that unwittingly, and againſt their wills, they made a way for Antichriſt: ſo it may be feared of ſome ſo diligent to catch occaſions, by envy to exclude and degrade them that are good and painfull, and ſo ready to defend their own fault, that rather then they wil leaue them, they paine themſelues to deviſe how to raiſe up troubles in the kirk, and driue men from it into conventicles and corners, very farre different from the wiſe Pilot, vvhen the tempeſt inforceth, emptieth the ſhip of ſome things to ſaue the reſt, but they caſt out the Pilots of the ſhips themſelues, to ſaue theſe Romiſh wares, trifles and cuſtomes, as they tearme them: and againe ſo negligent to cenſure great corruptions in ſuch as are praiſed for their readineſſe to admit by implicit faith whatſoever is offered, and to ſtand in contention about mens traditions, likely to lay the kirk waſte. Although they do not intentiuely ſeek to bring in Papiſtry, yet whiles in a de-

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fire thus to uphold their owne Lordships over Gods heritage, they presse their own traditions more then the weightier matters of the law, the practise of the ceremonie more then the observation of the Lords day, kneeling at the receiving of the sacrament out of the Ministers hand, more then the catechising of the people, and true meaning of the Lords institution, praising the conforme hypocrite, ignorant or senceleſſe, aboue the wise Christian rooted and grounded in the Gospell, they giue a great hope to the limbs of Antichrist to settle their tottering kingdome, and a more easie entrance for the whole body of abhominations, then they are aware of. England feeleth and feareth already, and Scotland hath cause to fast and pray, that the opinion & practise of these ceremonies may be removed as farre from them, as busking and balling should be from chast women. It is a prodigious presage, that statutes such as they are, and procured as they were in favours of dangerous novelties, should be more vehemently urged, and with greater rigor put in execution against the true servants of God for modest adherence to a truth never condemned, and for refusall of needlesse rites never proved to be lawful by Gods word, nor by any good appearance like to proue profitable, then all the good statutes standing in force against idolatry and Idolaters, blasphemers and murtherers, & open contemners of the Lords word and his service, as if the whole obedience of a Christian subiect were inclosed in the practise of certain rites justly cast forth of this kirk in the ignominious dust of other errours: or Christian charity were confined to the divided brotherhoood of indifferent things..

State Divines think better of government once received, then that it should be tossed and interrupted with all the contrarie tides of rituall controversies. Wisedome (say they) will rather tolerate some evill in a tried forme of government, then in a government vntried. Yea though a thing bee well done, yet it looseth the credit, if it savour of noveltie. If a man might say with an upright heart, that which I maintaine is the doctrine of the holy fathers, I haue their witnesses at large, taken out their owne bookes, if for such a cause he be cast

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not, he may say in the joy of a good conſcience, I am caſt out with the Fathers. This is the caſe of the Miniſters of Scotland ſtanding againſt the Hierarchie, and the props therof. And for this cauſe, with many vehement out-cries are they ſhamefully charged with the blind accuſations of diſobedience to King and Kirk, of ignorance in matters of Gods worſhip, of Puritaniſme, of popularitie, of fooliſhneſſe, ſtriving for trifles, indifferent things determinable and determinate by the Prince, of ſchiſme tending to hereſie, of trouble and ſedition, of ſcrupuloſitie of conſcience after all poſſible courſes taken for reſolving of doubts, of zealous but ignorantly ſo called, of hypocriſie, of nicenetie and obſtinacie, wiſhing to haue entred in the new way at firſt, and bluſhing now to change after ſtanding ſo long: and for theſe and many moe foule imputations vnworthy to be named among Chriſtians, peremptorily judged by ſuch as haue their ſillogiſmes in their heeles, leſſe tolerable in the kirk and countrey. Let them be charged with contempt or diſobedience, that can giue no good reaſon of their doing. the world hath ſeen the reaſons of their doings theſe 60 yeares and aboue, and the matter it ſelf ſpeaketh. The haſt brook of Papiſtry muſt bee avoyded by ſuch as would not periſh in the great rivers thereof: ſmall dropps make great floods: through ſmal rifts the water ſoaketh in, the pumpe is fild, and the ſhip is drowned. Though the ceremonies be ſmall, yet the evills that riſe of them, are not ſmall; If they be ſmall, there is the leſſe hurt in leaving of them, and the more wilfulneſſe in diſgracing the ſervice & the ſervants of God for them. It is to be remembred, what Iulian once ſayd, *If it be enough to accuſe, who ſhall bee innocent* not Moſes, not Ezra, not Nehemiah, not the prophets, not Chriſt himſelfe, nor his Apoſtles, upon whom all theſe and many moe ſlanders lay. But God forbid that the ſervants of God ſhould doe ſuch things; with whomſoever thoſe things are found, let him die, and let the reſt of his brethren following or favouring his courſe, be bond-men. But if the ſervants of the Lord thus ſlandered be fake eleſſe, and yet men haue riſen up to perſecute them, & to eſtrange from them, yea to inflame the Majeſties heart, the hearts of his nobles, Iudges, Barons, and

people against them, let the soules of his servants be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord their God, and the soule of their enemies shall God cast out, as out of the middle of a sling. It is a dangerous ease to be carried with a bent resolution to defame, and to rake together foule untruths, not considering what may be spoken most truely, nor what may be ratled out most disgracefully like a swelling brook that soone gathereth much filth. These slanderous calumnies are like a thorn standing in the hand of a drunkard; it is hard to judge whom they shall hurt. They are but a pretended quarrell against honest men by prejudice to condemn their cause before it be heard, according to the proverbe, *He that would have his dogge killed, giveth forth first that he is madd.* If these be reall crimes, they are farre aboue the omission of a ceremonie; let them be truely libelled, carefully cognosced, wisely discerned, and condignely punished. If undeserved calumnies, let the Lord impute them to none, and let no man impute them to the Lords people, their owne consciences witnessing before God, that such things they never thought, but rather let them be rejected as senceles scoffings of Sarcasticall bitternes crossing Christianity, and contrarie to gentlenes and loue. To burie them in silence had been their best condition, but when all meanes are sought to make the faithfull even to stink among the inhabitants of the land, it can no wise beseeme the ministeriall calling to secret the truth, and by a cowardly kind of modestie to betray a good cause malitiously wounded through the sides of honest men, craftily burdened with scandalls for bearing down their cause in a dangerous time. When so many not onely commons in the profession, and novices in the ministerie, but some great Pastors fall away no lesse from their wonted faithfulnesse, then from the ancient order whereby they were kept in the course of their ministerie, are now by the force of time become otherwise minded, undertaking by their publick teaching and example, by their private conference, and all other meanes, not onely to perswade this new conformitie so farre contrarie to the forme whereunto they were delivered, but also with great hate, and unkindly carriage to their brethren and old acquaintance,

ance, to carpe and quarrell, what can bee most truely and modestly sayd or written in favours of the truth, which they best know, as if they were become their enemies, because they hold on the good way which they have left, most unjustly confining faith, loue, and all Christianitie, within the dark region of conformitie, wherein dwelleth the divided brotherhood of that vnmied stranger.

Againe, when good people of tender hearts are boasted, allured, and every way tempted to blot their consciences with things they never knew to be profitable, nor comely in their profession, are heavily disquieted for lack of cleare information to strengthen their resolution for standing in the truth against errours.

Moreover, when after better sight, and more sound advisement, they who have been stollen off their feet, may rise and repent, and by the mercie of God returne againe to the right way.

Or when a publick testimonie may be given the Penriers like Antipater writing against Carneades and the Champions of this time, who have sweat so much to cast downe the holy Discipline, and to set up the Hierarchie with her ceremoniall traine.

Or when at the pleasure of God they that now line, & such as shall come after, may be helped to see the harvest, and taste the fruites of necessarie labours now to be taken against the shadowes of Papistry, which we must detest, as the body and substance of that ugly heresie. If in such a necessarie time all the men of God should onely lay their hand upon the hurt place, and secretly mourne, it were childish and ridiculous, the good cause being in danger, and the faithfull in hazard of vntimous silence.

There is here from a ready minde and a good will, the wise mans aneugh, a word of peace and puritie losed, Indifferencie found, and Conformitie urged, to hold out old Vanitie, to inlarge affected indifferencie, and to set up the children of absolute Conformitie in the stately chaires of both kirk and kingdome. The full historie and ample treatise of

the birth, education, and high promotion of this respected couple Indifferencie and Conformitie, with the controversies brought in Scotland, and increased thereby, requireth larger volumnes then any Aurelius of this time will bee nicknamed *Pupillus* for necessarie charges to such a work, while better occasion. This Scotized conformitie for the present must stand at the paines of Archippus and Epaphras, two honest Epitomists, and venturing themselues upon the stage to bee glowred upon by every evill eye, or rather casting themselues upon thornes, to be gored by every sharpe tongue. They are both good Patrons where ever they be. Archippus must take heed to the ministerie which he hath received of the Lord, that hee fulfill it, and Epaphras a servant of Christ laboureth fervently for you in prayers, and by all meanes that you may stand perfect and compleat in all the will of God. Archippus desirous to strengthen himselfe by learning, and Epaphras ready to lay out his Talent to exchange, haue diligently survayed the historie of the Kirk of Scotland concerning the forenamed particulars, & painfully searched the doctrine of indifferent things, shooting up in a short abridgement their best observations for present use, and clearly shewing, how conformitie came in by little and little without feeling, like Poperie comming to perfection by Ceremoniousnesse and Ambition, the ceremonies furnishing her with a seeming beautie to allure, and Ambition an vnresistable power to affray. They intend no way to prejudge or extinguish the worthy volumes of the learned, but rather to spurre men of good conscience, and meet gifts to search and set forth fully and in perfect order these worthy purposes according to their great zeale to a sound religion so long professed, and by the blessing of God upon their labours, to gain such as respecting their conscience, more then their credit, with vertues tincture shall blush after the sight of the evill they haue committed, with hearty repentance turning their praise of men to the praise of God to their ioy and comfort, as Augustines Retractations are the glorie and crowne of all his writings. So much the rather as the causes of their yeelding haue been, in some lack of acquaintance & sight

of the matters in question: in others simplicity, presuming that nothing would be required, but that which they might safely yeeld unto: in a third sort, a desire to be imployed in the service of the kirk, thinking it more easie to beare these corruptions, then to abide rigour: and a fourth sort deceived by policie, thinking that their yeelding with protestation should limitate to them the ordinarie forme whereunto others are tied, without altering at least in many inconveniences that may ensue upon the obedience required. It were a worke of singular loue to help such, and many others under the restraints of feare and other infirmities, who undoubtedly, if they were permitted to use their own libertie without hazarding themselues upon the pikes of the law, would with great joy returne to their best beloved profession, and by their happy repentance quickly bring to confusion the reioycing of Papists & Atheists, braving Ministers and professours to their faces, and saying plainly, that they hope ere it be long, to see them all either come to them, or come to nothing. But feare them not, they are lying Prophets, evill men and seducers they are, and shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived: but continue thou in the things that thou hast learned, and been assured of.

In this case of good Christians falling by infirmitie, & proud enemies bragging of their hopes, let it not be thought strange, that the louers of the primitiue beautie of the reformed kirk, earnestly wish to haue it restored againe, and for that cause modestly shrink at a new statute standing in the contrary. First, he breaks the band of obedience, sayth one, who doth it without cause. If the refusers haue not alledged causes iustifiable in the consciences of any, who will debate the matter between God and their own soules, let them be better taught. Authority may crush them, it cannot perswade them. 2. The first act anent kneeling, whereupon the alledged disobedience is grounded, is to be better considered, at least in the doctrinall part, where by the words of the Psalme, as it forceth the text, it maketh kneeling necessarie, and not indifferent, contrarie to the judgement of the most inclinable sort, who openly professe, that if authoritie would be pleased to favour the former order of the kirk,

they would gladly return thereunto. Againe, it is granted, that the kirk of Scotland hath used since the reformation of religion, to celebrate the holy communion to the people sitting, where the true reason moving them so to do, viz. (*The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministred, when it approcheth most neer to Christ his own action: how plain it is as that Supper Christ Jesus sate with his disciples: and therfore do we iudge that sitting at a tables most conuenient to that holy action*) is omitted, and another conveyed in, to wit (by reason of the great abuse of kneeling vsed in the Idolatrous worship of the sacraments by the Papists) which indeed should be granted to be a reason of very great weight. But how weak a removall of this reason is insert in the act to cast out sitting and bring in kneeling, let them declare in the presence of God, that haue changed upon such a reason, and urge others to doe the like, if all memorie of by-past superstition be passed out of Scotland, or if it be not rather renued and increased. But in these matters for good reasons, men must sparingly speak. 3. It hath never been, neither can be proved by Scripture, that the Magistrates commandement simply and nakedly considered, without some warrant of the word of God, can be reputed a true spirituall guide to lead the conscience of a subject in a matter of religion, or action of Gods worship in such assurance, that he may say in the presence of God, my opinion is sound, and action acceptable, because the magistrate hath commanded it, men being assured that Magistrates may erre in their iniunctions; and assemblies convened by the kings maiesties authoritie, may command and inact things unlawfull and unprofitable. Ask the scripture, whether ever the good Kings among the Iewes, or else where, brought in any speciall action or ceremony into the service of God, without some speciall warrant from himself, or whether they did deuise ought, or received the deuices of ecclesiasticall assemblies in their dominions, and impose the one or the other upon the Levits, or upon any bearing office in the sanctuarie, restraining them from their publick function without obedience to it; or whether ever by any of the messengers of God, the people were taught, that for the outward form and circumstance of Gods worship, a civill

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ſtatute or conſtitution of the kirk, without further ſearching of the ſcriptures, might be their ground, upon which they might build their obedience unto God, without further inquirie. 4. It is a received rule of Chriſtian libertie, at leaſt ſhould be in reformed kirkes, that the ordinances of the kirke are preſented unto Paſtors and people, not with neceſſitie of beleeving, but with libertie of trying, according to the rule, *Try the ſpirits*. It is the Lords own priviledge, that his iniunctions are to be received without queſtioning. It is likewiſe permitted by royall proviſion, that where the law was otherwiſe, men may not only content themſelues ſoberly & quietly with their owne opinions, but alſo preſſe by patience, and well-grounded reaſons either to perſwade all the reſt to like of their judgements, or where they ſee better grounds to incline thereto. It is the part of a temporizing hypocrite, of the ſervant of men, and not of the ſervant of God, to frame their actions to that which is cõmanded without any cõſcience of a truth, whether they know it or not, polluting the world with a brutiſh obedience, whiles without any reaſon in him that obeyeth, and whiles againſt the knowledge, whereby God hath inlightned his own mind.

In this inſuing treatiſe perſons are ſpared, and ſundry things hieroglyphically and ſummarily ſet down which muſt bring to readers leſſe acquainted with theſe matters ſome obſcuritie, but be not offended. Soberly and quietly peace is ſought without preiudice of any perſon or purpoſe, ſo farre as the clearing of the truth may ſuffer. You haue here to remember that old caution propounded by a Father to the Emperour, *Take away the peill of the ſtature*, &c. It is permitted to the maintainers of novelties, to uſe a continued, plentifull, and running ſpeech, which here is not to be found. For if the entiſing ſpeeches of mans wiſedome were true tokens of wiſedome indeed, the ſwallowes as they are ſwifter, may juſtly bee ſayd to bee aboue man in wiſedom. *Paul* for the truth is rude in ſpeaking, his preſence weak, & his ſpeech contemptible. But *Tertullus* pleading againſt him in a mask of eloquence, is admired for his pompous ſtile.

The matters in queſtion every where are ſo backed with all

meanes

meanes of credit in the hands of the one partie, and so borne down by vehement cries in the weakenes of the other. Mutation having now turned up-side-down, that where before the truth had favour to be spoken & heard without fear. In companies now a man must needs lay his hand upon his care for hearing the partie absent, or fall in folly and shame to answer a matter before he hath heard it. The truth is not to be measured by the means of them that speak for it, and all calumnies are but swines flesh, though they be dressed after a divers fashion. The cause in controversie wronged by the violence of the time, may justly complaine of *impar congressus* in respect of worldly helpes in the particulars following, and many moe. The new course hath the countenance of the world: But it fareth with the ancient profession, as with the Gospell it selfe; *Haue any of the rulers beleeved in him.* Excepting alwayes the honorable Peeres of the land, whose loue is more large then their credit. 2. The most part of the ancient ministers & professors, are removed either out of this life, or out of their former mind, and many out of their places, and such as arise up, and are admitted to the ministerie, must sweare & subscribe to maintaine and defend privatly and publickly the alterations inforced. 3. There is very few to be found having courage for the truth, to honor God with their credit & riches: such receiue the Gospell with a provision of safetie to their own estate, & the poore who receive the Gospell, are willing, but not able both to doe and suffer for the truth. 4. The patrons and proctours of this new plea are richly rewarded with a fat benefice, or great summe of the taxation and benefices promised: but the defenders are ready to be respected with *Deprive* and *Confine*. 5. They haue a strong assistance, but the other are few & weak, and if they be permitted to remain in their places, they are tied to the daily pains of their callings, and care of their families; and if they be thrust forth, they are forced to provide for their owne necessities, having no time for these matters, but stolne houres. 6. The one partie hath libertie to meet with full help of all requisite meanes, few or many, where and when, at their owne pleasure. The other if two or three of them meet upon their

lawfull

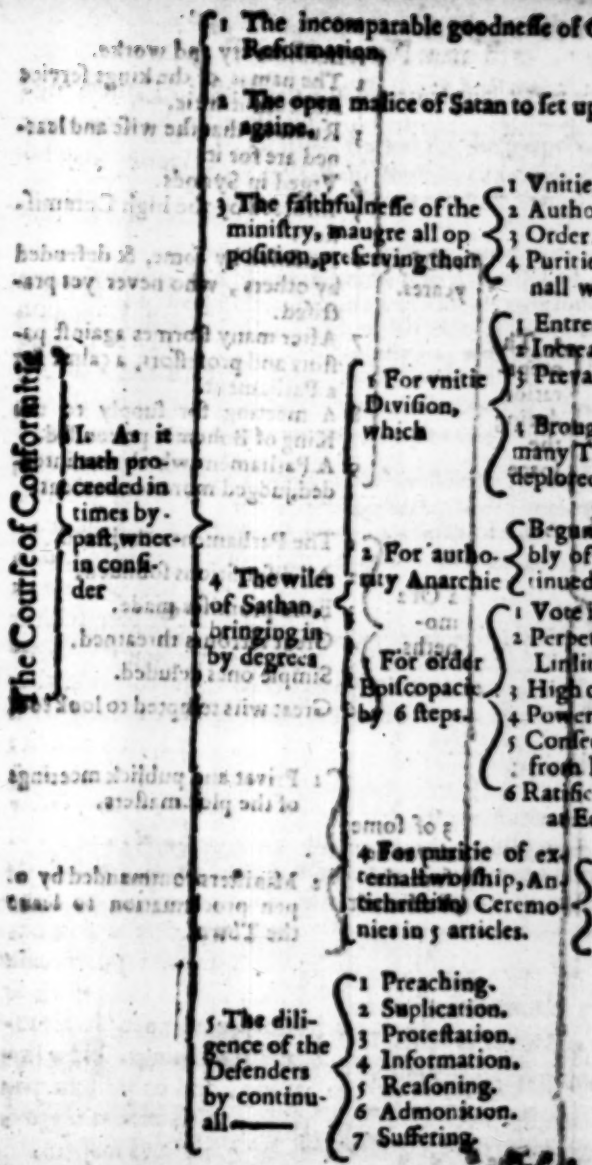
lawfull affaires, it is a scandall of Conventicle, & a matter of challenge. 7 They are judges of their own cause, and haue at their right hand the power of Kirk and policie; but the cause of the other is like the widow & the fatherlesse, no man will heare it. 8 To them all the Presses are open and expenses furnished: Printers beyond sea are troubled upon suspicion of having the copies of the other. 9 Their assertions are probations: the contrary cause acknowledged for a sound truth in secret, is in publick respected as an errour. 10 Threatned dangers maketh men afrayed to reade, write or print in favours of the one; all may be done to the advancement of the other with great commendation. 11 For loue of peace and lack of meanes, necessary purposes, as the answer to a rabble of untruthes known to a many yet living, hatched by *Joan Fani Andreæ Arch ep.* and favoured with a latine complexion of some despised Doctor, and idle for lack of patients, and presented to the world under the triumphing title, *Refutatio libelli de regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.* The answer to the Doctors, *Lyndesay, David Brechin, & Michelson*, their bragging and begging pamphlets: The answer to Mercenary *Tilen* his pragmaticall paræneſis &c. are hid from the light, while necessitie call for them.

Finally, were there a change made of the prosperous case of the one cause with the adversity of the other, or would the world but smile or frowne equally on both; they would not busie the Printer and Reader so much. But the æquivalent of that old truth, *poore Luther made many rich*, is in some sort verified in this cause: and that which preaching substance against Papists could not procure, pleading for ceremonies against Protestants hath procured. The Defenders haue no other comfort, but that they deliver their soules, discharge their consciences and serue for witnesses to the truth, and least they be witnesses also against thee, Take heed to thy selfe; be not one of those who either for loue of the world will not like a known truth, or who fear to read & know the truth, lest they find themselues obliged to follow it, and so either be moved to change their present course, which may seem unprofitable, or else be vexed with a crying conscience for keeping it, and that will proue unpleasant. Think not their labours like the hirclings made by *Archimedes*, when *Marcellus* was on the sea and nigh unto the ports of Syracuse, except thou remember also that by his weake

meanes the Citie was a long time defended against the Roman enemie, albeit at last with the losse of his life. Neither be thou over vvise to say, they might haue been like the good Geographers, who seldome trouble themselues with the description of smal Brooks, but waite on till by confluence they make great rivers, and are disburdened into sea. For had the riverets either been dryed up in time, or yet were drained in severall chanels, the maine streame would not swell so big, nor the great Whore, that sitteth upon many waters proue so stately amongst us. Onely first, for stirring up thy own soule, think with thy selfe how like the times of our Kirk may prooue unto the darkenesse of the ninth Centurie after Christ, which the Centuriatours obserue to haue proceeded of foure pregnant causes: 1 the excessiue loue of mens writtes with the neglect of Scripture: 2 the præeminence of some persons aboue others: 3 the multiplication of ceremonies and humane inventions: 4 persecution and oppression of the most sound in heart and judgement. Secondly, for judging of the Defenders part, consider that howsoever they be commanded to loue such as hate them, and pray for such as persecute them, yet how small reason they haue to beleeue that they who persecute them, thinke that in so doing they doe God good service. And thirdly, for thy own resolution, remember that the sentence of Christs throne, and the voyces of men in the world are farre different. Thy times and wayes are in the Lords hands. Set thy selfe in his presence; view the course as it began, proceeded, hath been resisted, should be refused, and may end, and see whether it shall be any griefe or offence of heart unto thee on that day, that thou hast kept thy selfe in the loue of the truth from the beginnings of defection, the end whereof no flesh can see, and every heart may justly feare that it shall be beyond English Conformity, in so farre as their lukewarmenesse hath been towards the hot, and ours is after it towards the cold. The Lord giue wisedome in all things. Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultlesse before the presence of his glorie, with exceeding joy,

To the onely wise God our Saviour, be glory and majeste, dominion and power, now and ever.

Amen.



The Course of Conformitie

- I. As it hath proceeded in times by past, wherein consider
  - 1 The incomparable goodnesse of God at the Reformation.
  - 2 The open malice of Satan to set up Idolatrie againe.
  - 3 The faithfulnesse of the ministry, maugre all opposition, preserving their
    - 1 Vnitie,
    - 2 Authoritie.
    - 3 Order.
    - 4 Puritie of externall worship.
  - 4 The wiles of Sathan, bringing in by degrees
    - 1 For vnitie Division, which
      - 1 Entred at Perth
      - 2 Increased at Dundie.
      - 3 Prevailed at Montrose.
      - 4 Brought forth many Tragedies deplored at
        - 1 Bruntyland.
        - 2 Halyrudhouse
    - 2 For authority Anarchie
      - Begun about the Assembly of Aberdene, and continued sensine.
    - 3 For order Episcopacie by 6 steps.
      - 1 Vote in parliamét at Perth
      - 2 Perpetuall moderation at Linlithgow.
      - 3 High commission.
      - 4 Power Eccles. at Glasgow.
      - 5 Consecracation brought from England.
      - 6 Ratification in Parliament at Edinburgh.
    - 4 For puritie of externall worship, Antichristian Ceremonies in 5 articles.
      - 1 Motioued at Aberdene.
      - 2 Vrged at Saint-Andrewes.
      - 3 Enacted at Perth
  - 5 The diligence of the Defenders by continuall——
    - 1 Preaching.
    - 2 Suplication.
    - 3 Protestation.
    - 4 Information.
    - 5 Reasoning.
    - 6 Admonition.
    - 7 Suffering.

II. As it is now cõcluded in parliamẽt whereof consider

1. The preparation during the space

1. Of 3 yeares.

1 Let time try and worke.
2 The names of the kings service and conformitie.
3 Rumour that the wise and learned are for it.
4 Vrged in Synods.
5 Inforced by the high Commission.
6 Practised by some, & defended by others, who never yet practised.
7 After many stormes against pastors and professors, a calme for a Parliament.
8 A meeting for supply to the King of Bohemia pretended.
9 A Parliament which was intended, judged more convenient.

2 Of 2 moneths.

1 The Parliament continued.
2 All dispositions sounded.
3 Faire promises made.
4 Great terrours threatned.
5 Simple ones deluded.
6 Great wits tempted to look too

3 of some dayes before the Parliamẽt.

1 Privat and publick meetings of the plot-masters.
2 Ministers commanded by open proclamation to leave the Town.

2. The

- 1 The proceedings
  - The first day.
    1. Diligence used, that no minister enter into the house.
    2. Search made if any had entred, to remove them.
    3. Orations framed for the purpose.
    4. Lords of the Articles cunningly chosen, and the seven officers of estate joyned to them.
  - 2 the daies following.
    1. The kirk dispossessed of her place.
    2. The toleration at length disputed.
    3. The five articles suddenly concluded.
    4. The Lords of Articles set to hauking, hunting, &c. till the way was prepared for voting in publick.
    5. Emissaries for triall of wits and hearts.
    6. Arguments fitted for every disposition.
  - 3 the last day.
    1. Absents made present by Proxie, whereby through was made to vote.
       - 1 Strangers.
       - 2 Some who had their lyfes passed.
       - 3 Some against their owne mindes.
    2. Some who had refused commission, to vote notwithstanding.
    3. They who were present made absent.
       - 1 Some moved to leave the towne.
       - 2 Some dealt with not to ride.
       - 3 Some not to vote who had ridden.
    4. The entry of the house kept that no Minister enter.
    5. Pithie speeches
       - 1 exhortatorie.
       - 2 Apologetick.
       - 3 Declaratorie.
       - 4 Promissorie, mixed with terrors.
- 2 The conclusion.
  1. Confusion in voting.
     1. All the Articles hudled up in one.
     2. Negative voyces noted for affirmative.
     3. The distinction of the three Estates suppressed.
  2. Ratification denied to the negative Burroughes.
  3. Gratulation for great successe.
  4. Contradiction from
     1. The Ministers by supplications, protestations, informations, &c.
     2. The hearts of the actors within.
     3. The good people without.
     4. The Heavens aboue.
     5. The judgements sinsyne.

- 1 Three degrees of matters of faith.
- 2 Answerably as many degrees of Infidelity.

III. As it should be refused against 4 Difficulties:

1 Of appearance, that the controverted ceremonies seeme not to bee matters of faith, but indifferent, removed by shewing that they be.

3 Three sorts of things indifferent.

1 Indifferent by comparison made among things.

2 In respect of the effects and consequents in this case.

3 In their nature & qualitie, where distinguish betwixt a naked action, and an action clothed with circumstances, from divine determination, which is three-fold:

2 Of religious & reasonable pretexts removed by shewing the like for.

1 The foulest faults.
2 The greatest Heresies.
3 The grossest Idolatry.

3 of promise, that no more shall be urged,

1 The times give reply.
2 The mysterie still prevailing.
3 Against
- 1 The judgement of Prudence.
- 2 The course of Gods dealing.
- 3 Satans subtill working.

4 Hard successe upon the Defenders.

1 Dutie is ours, successe is Gods.
2 It may be better then is expected, if we fall not away.
3 More grievous Croceis, and odious aspersions upon the worthiest.

1 Of the foundation, the principles of religion.
2 Vpon the foundation, their necessarie consequents.
3 About the foundation, whatsoever is in Scripture, ceremonies should be of this degree.

1 Ignorance in the first sort
2 Error in the second sort } condemneth.
3 obstinacie in the third sort

1 Of the same kinde
2 Consisting in our knowledge. — Thus sitting best. / kneeling worst. / standing, mid-way.

1 Deplored.
2 To the worst and to the weakest evill spirituall,
3 To the best, evill naturall, œconomicall, civill, Ecclesiasticall.

1 Morall and vniversall, removing Indifferencie from the controverted ceremonies, if ye consider
- 1 That circumstances are of the substance of an action.
- 2 That the ten commandements bee not taken literally, as ten words, but largely as the common heads of all morall duties.

2 Ceremoniall and Nationall among the Iewes. Controverted ceremonies cõpared with theirs in 4 periods of time.
- 1 Before the giving of the law.
- 2 Before the death of Christ.
- 3 Before the destruction of the Temple.
- 4 To the end of the world.

3 Evangelicall & christian, where distinguish betwixt
- 1 Divine institutions.
- 2 Ecclesiasticall constitutions to be made
- 3 Human inventions, such are they.

1 Vpon matters in their nature indifferent, knowne by 2 rules and their 3 consequents, all removing indifferencie from the controverted ceremonies.
2 According to the Apostolick rules transgressed by them.

1 Of the foundation, the principles of religion.
2 Upon the foundation, their necessitie consequents.
3 About the foundation, what [illegible] scripture, ceremonies
ahoul [illegible] of the degree.

1 Ignorance in the first fort
2 Error in the second fort
3 obstinacie in the third fort
} condemneth.

1 Of the same kinde
2 Consistency in our knowledge.
} Thus [illegible] knowing [illegible] standing, mid-way.

1 Deplored.
2 To the worst and to the weakest evil spirituall.
3 To the best, evil natural, economicall, civil, [illegible].

1 Morall and universall, removing Indifference from the controverted ceremonies, if ye consider
- 1 Their circumstances are of the substance of an action.
- 2 That the ten commandements bee not taken literally, as ten words, but largely as the common heads of all morall duties.

2 Ceremoniall and Nationall among the Iewes. Controverted ceremonies compared with theirs in 4 periods of time.
- 1 Before the giving of the law.
- 2 Before the death of Christ.
- 3 Before the destruction of the Temple.
- 4 To the end of the world.

3 Evangeliall fe christian, where distinguish betwixt
- 1 Divine [illegible]
- 2 [illegible] Humane [illegible] in the [illegible].
- 1 Upon matters in their nature [illegible] tent, knowne [illegible] all [illegible] on- [illegible] ceremonies.
- 2 According to the A[illegible] [illegible] transgren[illegible]

THE COVRSE OF CONFORMITIE

as it hath proceeded.

Archippus.

I Begin no sooner to think upon the progresse of my short time in the Ministerie, but I remember of the Students of Athens, who the first yeare were wisemen, the second yeare Philosophers, onely lovers of wisedome; the next year Rhetoricians, no better then babblers; and the last yeare Idiots. At the first I seemed somewhat to others, and more then somewhat to my selfe; like many in these times, at whose blind boldnesse, out of mine own experience, I would smile, were it not a subject of compassion. But afterward the Lord in his great mercie, opening my eyes to see, and touching my heart to blush at my owne insufficiencie and naughtinesse, I began to denie my selfe, to unsecret my soule to you: and at the first poured out all my former phantasies and present thoughts into your bosome. At which time my reverend *Epaphras*, I received happie information, in some measure to be that indeed, which I was before in appearance; and manie times since haue I beene with great delight, exercised with you in heavenly contemplations for the furtherance of Gods work: But now my harp, with *Iobs*, is turned to mourning, and my Organ into the voice of thē that weep. Through the iniquitie of the present Polemicall times, I am led aside to Controversies, which are not in the high way to heaven wherin we were walking before: All my former delight is changed into an earnest desire to bee throughly informed concerning the division which hath happened in this our mother Kirk, so renoumed in the Christian world for perfect reformation, through the late alterations wrought at the last Parliament holden at Edinburgh in August 1621, for the ratification of the fiue now famous Articles of Perth Assemblie; Since which time the whole quarters of this Kingdome hath been universally filled with dinn and diversitie of motions and

speeches. Some like *Haman* when the letters of revenge were published against *Mordecai* and his people; some like the Israelites when they sate down to eat and drink and rose up to play; Others like the Iewes themselues when they were in perplexitie & great sorrow: The fourth sort equalling the first in miserie of scene-serving sycophants, who finding the religion before them, and not within them, are readie to serue God or the divel, as the companie will. And finally some so petted and *empacque*, that they suspend both their judgement & practise, till they see which side shall prevaile. As therefore I never went from your societie but either wiser or better, so must I now in my great need, importune you for my comfort and quietnesse of my minde, to giue me some satisfaction in these three particulars, all linked in one chaine. First, out of your old experience, what hath been the methode of this mysterie of iniquitie from our reformation to this time. Secondly, out of your diligent observation, by what meanes, and after what manner past it in an Act in the late Parliament. Thirdly, after conclusion past in Kirk and Parliament, out of your grave direction, what is to be done of us, especially in the case of mans immediate opposition, of the Necessitie of Conformitie or Deprivation: Promising for dutie to follow after you in the straitest waies of passiue obedience, so farre as I finde truth going before you, and leaving the successe with cheerefulnesse, to his high providence, who makes all things work together for good to them that loue him.

Three things demanded concerning conformitie

Epaphras. And no sooner think I upon my long course in the holy Ministerie, begun about the flourishing times of our first temple, but with incredible joy of heart I call to mind the goodnesse of my God, where with in a time of so great defection, I haue escaped the danger of the proverbiall speech of the Hebrews, first uttered of Balaam, who seeking preferment lost the gift of Prophecie; *The Camel seeking hornes, lost his eares.* Had my care beene to haue lift up my horne on high, my gift of Prophecie in publick, and grace of giving good counsell in private, had long since perished: And so by this time I am sure (whatsoever is become of others, vvhom I judge not) I had been troad on as unsauorie salt; a burden to my selfe, and unprofitable to you, and all others of your disposition, who for your invinceable courage are worthie of the oracle of Counsell. And therefore albeit my mediocritie cannot promise full satisfaction, because your demand requires a deep knowledge of things past, present and to come; with the height of the highest spirit, not onely prepared to break the neck of his present fortune, but also overlooking all casualties, & equally armed for all events: And in a word a man that knows much

Camelus cornua quærens aures amisit. Drus.

Il ne perd rien qui ne perd Dieu.

much of the world and cares little for it: Yet, because all that I haue I owe to God and his people, by his grace in whom I am preserved, & who is able to keep me that I fall not, I shall assay what I can, with this premonition, that in case the historicall part of my answer, concerning things past and present, shall happen to halt in some places, and to walk upon one foot, not daring to set down the other in the midst of so many thornie purposes, wherein all the veritie would not, may not be heard; let a word now and then, albeit covertly uttered, be enough to your wise eare: And let it bee my imputation that, of the twofold commendation of a good historie, *No truth unspoken, no untruth spoken*, Charitie hath made me to bee content with the latter till I come to the third point where I shall set down both my feet, and without danger of so great offence walk with greater libertie.

Τρεφ αθεφτε le miel qui fait aſpreté le lieu.

Nihil Verum non, nihil non Verum.

Archipp. Your mind I perceiue malices no man, and your meaning according to your fashion of conference, which was ever more materiall then personall, is rather to ward then to giue a blow. My desire also (albeit an hieroglyphicall historie be halfe dumb) is not so much after men as matter; persons as purposes: let me onely know by things past from whence we are come, and by things presently done and in doing, where we now are, that my course in time to come may be the more safe and sound.

πεφληγμαι μου τα παρελληλυθοτα, και τα παροντα σαφως, πως, η ποθεν ασφαλως εις τα φανερα παρεκ τυχοντος ιχνη διαγνωσω.

Epaph. All prefaces are long to the greedie hearer. To beginne then with your first Demand, the length thereof reaching from the first reformation through manifold alterations to the last Parliament, shall be abridged to a threefold consideration: First, what Christ did for us in the beginning of his undeserued loue: secondly, what Antichrist did against us in his vnquenchable malice; and thirdly, what the true members of the Kirk did in their sincerity and faithfulnesse.

A threefold consideration for iustifying of the first Demand.

Archipp. That project punctually pursued, will delight any true Scots heart to heare, and will giue eye to me borne out of time to see, as that I had lived then, that which I both feare and loue to know: first then, what was that incomparable loue vouchsafed on us.

Epaph. Our Saviour Christ did plant a vineyard in this land, as in a verie fruitfull hill, he hedged it, and gathered out the stones of it, and planted it with the best plants, he built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-presse therein, and after manie yeares, and divers troubles and travells (according to the truth uttered by a deere servant of God when the gospell first began to shine among us) the realme was illuminated with the light of Christs Evangell as clearely as ever was any realme since

The first consideration.

the daies of the Apostles: The house of God was builded in ityes, it did not lacke (whatsoever the enemie imagine in the contrarie) the verie coapstone: the jurisdiction and libertie of the true Kirk, Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, Sessions and Discipline were brought to their perfection: all lawes of idolatrie abrogate; all presentations of Benefices directed to the particular Presbyteries, with power to put order to all matters Ecclesiasticall within their bounds, according to the discipline of the Kirk. But all this faire and flourishing estate is tyed to it owne condition of contrary change; if the people shall be after unthankfull, then fearefull and terrible shall the plagues be.

Hic fuit unitas sine schismate, veritas sine hæresi & bonitas absq; hypocrisi.

Archipp. That truth of the man of God, I must confesse, meeteth us this day in our face, for as the loue hath been great, the people haue proved unthankfull, and the plagues are alreadie begun: The Lord looked for grapes, and behold nothing but wilde grapes; why should he not then lay his vineyard waste, and command the clouds that they raine no more raine upon it: But what secret would you haue me to consider upon the Antichrist his side.

Epaph. Antichrist inflamed with the furious zeale of his cursed Kingdome, and enraged by his inveterate malice against our profession, as a burning light to discover his damnable darkenesse, never ceased to resist the grace of God among us, to his uttermost possibilitie: sending forth, as he might command, the armies of crueltie, his wilde Boares and roaring Lyons, with open mouth and readie pawes to threaten and proclaime their enmitie, as in that bloudie enterprise of the 88, when God shewing his might, no lesse against these mortall enimies, then for the Kirks & Kingdomes of this Iland, redeemed his own people mightily from the teeth of the Dog; and ruined these Vnicornes as mightily in his wrath: But that marvellous overthrow from the heaven aboue, and the waters beneath, conspiring to represse the pride of that tyrant, did no wise moue him to forsake his bloudie purpose, but within few daies thereafter, assaying to practise by craft which hee could not performe by open crueltie, like a sworne enemie to the oath of Alleageance, he treacherously inchanted, and miserably perverted diverse of this Kingdome to negotiate with him and his Emissaries, Iesuites and seminarie Priests, for subversion of this whole state. You may reade and remember the execution of *Fentrie*, the Bridge of Dee, and the unnaturall and treacherous attempt of the 93, &c.

Secondly what Antichrist did.

Archipp. You seeme to me if you would follow forth that discourse in speaking of the times past to point at the present, and to take the treacherie of living men in their persons who are long since

since dead But I rest content for the present with your pointing at that Spanish spring from whence the streames have been comming northward this time bypast which now overflow this Kirk and Iland: and desires to know what was done at that time for resisting of Antichrist.

Epaph. The watchmen of the Lords house and sincere professors as they were directed and assisted by grace, resisted the violence of open enemies, and diligently searched the hid wickednes of lurking vipers, intending to sting to the death, and after tryall taken of the venomous heads of those Romish monsters, who spared not to adventure themselues, their friends and whole estate in that foule and unnaturall trick, they proceeded against them, and put them under the highest censure Ecclesiasticall, and therupon procured their deserved forefalture. thirdly, how Antichrist was resisted.

Archip. Those Satanicall suppostts of that Italian Priest and Indian Pluto deserved no lesse; And now it seemeth that the Kirk and the Country are well purged of such Antichristian and dis-natured spirit.

Epaph. Had the successe been answerable to the censure, the fire had been quenched, and we quit of them and their adulterous generation multiplying in midst of us to this day: But the general Assembly holden at Edinburgh 1594 declareth the contrarie in these words of Inscription. *The dangers which through the impunitie of the excõmunicate Papists trafiquers with the Spaniards and other enemies of the Religion & estate, are imminent to the true Religion professed within this Kingdom, his Majesties person, crown & libertie of this our native Countrie.* And at more length in Eleven Articles, of which number the first is: *It is certaine, that the Spaniard who with so great preparations in the 88, did interprise the conquest of this Ile, remaines as yet of that same intention, and waites onely upon a meet occasion to accomplish that his devilish purpose, as cleerely appeares in his continuing in this intertainment of intelligence and traffiquing with the foresaid excommunicates ever since the dissipation of his Navie.* And the last: *Whereas his Majestie and Estates at the first discoverie of their conspiracies apprehended a verie great danger to true Religion, the Kings estate and crown, and libertie of the Countrie; and notwithstanding that the same cause of danger as yet remaines whole unremoved, their is no apprehension of any danger, nor earnest care to withstand it, it is evident that their is an inclination and purpose to cover, extenuate & bear forth the evil cause, whereby through they will not see; or else the Lord in judgement hath blinded and hardned the hearts of all estates to grop in the mid day at that which they cannot see, which is the greatest danger of al, & a most certain argument of the wrath of God, and his heavie judgement hanging over the land, & so much the more to be feared, because there is no cause of fear apprehended.*

Archip. But what could either the civill or spirituall sword doe more for the good of the kirk and countrey against their vnnaturall malice.

Epaph. When you tempt me after that sort, ye forget my protestation in the beginning: I will onely shew what the kirk (now holding the wolfe by the eares) resolved to doe, out of the apprehension of so great danger for preventing of ensuing evils, and for purging the realme from open offences ready to draw on higher wrath; They begin carefully to mark the corruptions of every state and calling, earnestly recommending to all vnfaigned and timous repentance: and for that effect publick humiliations were kept, a covenant renewed with God first in the generall Assembly holden at Edinburgh the penult of March 1593, and thereafter in the Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions for stirring up and moving all more carefully to cleave to their comfortable profession. In great plainnesse and zeale sounded the Pulpits against papistry and their resetters. The Assemblies of the kirk were frequentlie kept, delinquents without respect of persons admonished and censured, Residence of Ministers earnestly vrged, and all men and meanes, as they had grace and place, were set a-work for reformation of abuses, and defence of the kirk against her bloudy enemies.

Archip. The holy courage of the ministerie, and spirituall happinesse of the kirk in that time, puts me in mind of that which is in the Canticle, *Thou art beautifull, O my loue, as Tirza, comely as Ierusalem, terrible as an army with banners.*

Epaph. But while the faithfull servants of God were thus set to cure the wound lately received, and to prosecute the reformation of corruptions; the persons standing under both civill and ecclesiasticall censure of the vnnaturall crimes afore named, without shame or feare, yea in great boldnes, durst presume to shew themselves openly within the countrey.

Archip. What could be done in that case of so proud contempt and manifest danger.

Epaph. The messengers of God were set with fresh courage, as became their holy calling and vigilant care to provide new remedies for that so deadly maladie. But as they assayed to cure that disease, a more dangerous sore brake out. A woefull question was moved about the marches of the kirkes Iurisdiction, and certain ministers were pursued before civil Iudges for matters of doctrine. By those and other unhappy occasions, were the ministers of God taken off the pursute of the enemies of religion, & intended course for reforming corruptions, and constrained to bestow their thoughts and endevours in defence of themselves, and libertie of the

the Kirk; but with what ſucceſſe the event will declare.

Archip. That policie hath at all times proved pernicious to the Kirk, and advantagious to the enemie. But my ignorance makes me to marvell more how the kirk having authoritie for her, could be forced to take her to the defenders part: And therefore I pray you make this part ſomewhat plaine.

Epaph. Machiavell will never be plain to a prentiſe in his craft, albeit he were a maiſter in other Arts. In thoſe dayes there fell out a diſcontentment amongſt Stateſmen: the Octavians and the Chalmermen went in factions, according to the cuſtomes of ſuch times. The kirk then being ſomewhat, and the credit thereof not a little reſpected, what could curry favour was ſuggeſted to chiefe miniſters in ſuch meaſure, and by one of them ſo apprehended for extremitie and preſent danger, as he was then in a high place of the miniſterie, and now as high in credit but in a new mould, was not affraied in great boldnes to affirme in a place of chiefe reſpect, as he repeated himſelfe in a publick conference concerning the difficulties then in hand, *That the Kirk got but faire promiſes, and words without effect, and the enemies got the deeds.* It were but ſorrow to remember, and pittifull to repeat the lamentable broyles of October, November, and December of the yeare 1596, each one following another like the heads of Hydra ſtricken off, or the abhominations of Ezechiels Temple, after the ſight of ſome, ſtil moe. By theſe vnexpected hurly-burlies, the vnitie of the faithfull and carefull concurrence for offices due to the neceſſities of religion, was ſtrangely ſhaken; and they by proclamations, the terrible trumpets of authoritie, ſcattered like the ſhips of Tarſhis. Vpon this untimous diſtemper of a body whole in appearance, and well compacted to the eye, but ſecretly racked in ſome principall members, wittie wickednes quickly began to lay the foundation of a curſed Babell, and firſt to divide Hippocrates twins, and then to charge the kirk with ſedition, inſurrection, as Archenemie of common peace, and likely to diſquiet all rankes and perſons, as indeed the remedies againſt enemies of the truth, and reformation of notorious corruptions, if they had been proſecuted, as honeſtie required, and without reſpect of mens perſons, would have made ſome ſort of ſturre amongſt the maiſters of ſtrange plots. But in few dayes the kirk loſt the ſmiling ſurmiſes of thoſe diſcontented or rather diſſembled factions. Theſe cunning controverſies were quickly compoſed, and they ſet aworke to compaſſe the way of peace for the excommunicats, as did appeare at *Fackland* and *Dumfirmeline*: and thereafter in the proceſſe of their relaxation, and many favours ſecretly inſinuated, and openly ſhowen in the forme thereof, and before and after the ſame, not onely by civill men,

but

but also by some provinciall assemblies, and sundry ministers. In this vncouth rite and mysticall formof dealing, the mouth of the Canon was turnedfrom Babylon the mother citie of forceand falshood, desperately set to snare the world to her subjection, and the generation of the wise found it was high time, every man inviting another, Come, let vs worke wisely with the kirk, least that they increase and we decrease: for at that time Ierusalem was a strong citie: her Motto then was, *Vnitie strengthens the cause*; her wall was discipline and her assemblies, her sword the sword of the spirit, plaine pertinent and powerfull doctrine: her glory, the favour of God, manifested in her manifold deliverances, florishing estate and still triumphing over her enemies; Then did she constantly hold that such was the crueltie of Rome, that she is the second beast thirsting for the Saints bloud. Vpon their side, *As many as wil not worship the image of the beast, shall be killed.* The firie Fathers of Trent, *All Lutherans, Calvinists, and such as are of the new religion, shall vtterly be rooted out.* Bellarmine the oracle of Rome: *The Catholickes suffer none in their societie that by any outward signe giue evidence of their favour to Lutherans.* And upon our part, it should be a great height of vnthankfulnesse in us freed from the Romane bondage, not to stand out against the present kirk of Rome, but to yeeld our selves to plots of Reconciliation, so long as they cry, What care we for the same creed? *No peace with Rome. &c.*

Pax cum hæreticis esse non potest, bellum αἰσπονδον.

Catholici non patiuntur in suo grege ullos qui ostendunt ullo signo externo se fauere Lutheranis.

Bell. de Laicis l. 3. c. 19.

Archip. That Italizing craft of Scottish windings, and secret underminings, brings me out of the element of my simplicitie, into an vncouth world of policie, & remembers me of the comparison of Epiphanius, likening an hereticke to a modiwort or brok, working hid under the ground, and making the earth aboue her to swell and to moue: yet I see not how these earthly moles can shake a citie builded upon a rock.

Epaph. To this time the kirk notwithstanding all oppositions externall and intestine, did stand whole and sound in the vnitie of her ministers, authoritie of her assemblies, order of her ministery, and puritie of divine worship. But there was the beginning of her calamitie. The enemies being frustrated in the yeare 88. and not finding after that time how they shall (like Caligula) cut the throat of the whole Kirk and religion at one stroke, they resolue to be still working the maine conclusion by degrees, and to maime her of her members, that in the meane time the Kirk may be still decreasing in beautie and strength, the ministery may be more exercised in their owne defence then in their pursute. At last they or their posteritie may bring the purpose to an end. And it may be, that by some intervening occasion, the work may be made short. Working and waiting will doe the turn in the end.

Archip.

Archip. God hath not plagued us finally with that occasion as we haue deserved, and they desire. But we may all see division in the kirk for Vnitie, for Iurisdiction and authoritie vsurpation and tyrannie, for order Episcopacie, and for the puritie and power of worship, polluted and perfunctorious service. Albeit I cannot for my selfe marvell enough upon what side of a citie so compact in it selfe they could make the first assault, and desire to know if, as I perceiue now, that the weed hath growen so in former times, ye did see it to be growing, and by what meanes. Defection of the kirk in foure essential degrees.

Epaph. Know yee not the maxime, *Divide and overcome*: The kirk at that time was so respected for a strong estate, that scarcely durst any without helpe from her owne hand, enterprise her hurt; and therefore her enemies dealt with her Cassander like friends to divide the Ministerie: And for this end a quarrell was professed against the great libertie vsed in application of the doctrine. Item, against divers poynts of discipline: and for remedie of that pretended disease, there was offered to the ministers a bond restraining the power of their office in doctrine, application thereof, and in discipline. And divers ministers were called and accused (as multitudes yet living may vvell remember) but that band vvas modestly and happily refused vpon reasons unanswerable for the time, and no cause found in the ministers sufficiently to ground the change intended. The first degree, Division for Vnitie.

Archip. When that course failed vvhat vvas next assayed?

Epaph. With a better lustre there were penned and printed vv questions, to be resolved by the estates and generall assemblie to be holden at Perth the last Febr. 1596. And vvhat paines vvas taken there by some of a farre other minde now both to direct the ministers in their studies and sermons, and to repell these questions by strong and well prepared answers, their old papers, and their old conscience vvill best record in time and place, as the judge of the world shall think meet. Begun at Perth.

Archip. I would vnderstand something of the keeping and proceedings of that meeting.

Epaph. Vpon the day appointed at the same Borough, a great number of ministers from all the Presbyteries of this realme (but specially from Aberdene, Murray and Angus) as they vvere required by his Maiesties missiue, did convene, and some two dayes after came a number of the Nobilitie. In that meeting the ministers being as yet all of one minde, refused a mixture of the Nobilitie and Ministerie to make up an Ecclesiasticall or rather confused meeting. But after some dayes spent in secret conference betwixt some Civilians and some of the chiefe Ministers, a course was taken for opening the dore to Division, that vve might as should

be thought meet, weaken vnitie, and make way to the proiects in hand.

Archip. In vvhat particulars vvere the ministers divided at that meeting?

Epaph. In these four especially: first, anent the nature of the meeting, some holding that all generall assemblies vvere either ordinary, or *Pro re nata* consisting of commissioners authorized with commission, and directed from Provinciall assemblies or presbyteries to meet in a certain time and place appointed by the kirk with his Maiesties consent, and having Moderator and Clark according to the institution and custome of the said meeting, vvhich were no vvayes here to be found: Others holding, that in respect of the missiue it vvas lawfull, vvhich alleageance vvas so farre granted as it concerned the libertie of the persons met; but denied to bee a sufficient vvarrant for them to performe the duties proper for a generall assembly. But in the end, it vvas born away vvith strong hand, that it should be called an extraordinary generall assembly. Secondly, about cerain answers given more liberally then advisedly to these 13 articles proponed to that meeting, as a favourable ease of the 55 questions, vvhich of reason should have been seen and considered at length in inferiour assemblies before they had been concluded to be the ground work of such a strange building as now is raised upon thē. Thirdly, an ample cōmission granted in favour of the excommunicats, from the ministery there met, to certain of their own number, as inclined to accept, as they vvere prone to give, notwithstanding of the troublesome condition of that time, and informality of that conuention. And lastly for presuming to alter the order of calling the roll, and marking the votes usually observed all times before.

Archip. By vvhat means could so many vvorthy & vvise men be separat from their brethren, & depart from their own stedfastnes.

Epaph. The meanes are best known to themselues, *dedit seminatum est venenum aspidum in Ecclesia Dei.* I may say of them that vvhich was sayd of flattering *Gregorius* in the beginning of the Roman Hierarchy. That they vvere the vvorst amongst the best, and the best amongst the worst. That the schisme by vvhich many now are called Schismatickes, began at this time on their side: and that they carried away the ignominious victory not by their own valor, but by the modesty of their brethren, & over great reverence towards them for their courage and good cariage in former times.

Archip. And perhaps it vvould trouble their vvits now to answer speeches and arguments used and vttered by themselues then, no lesse then it would haue busied the braine of the same *Gregorius* raised from the dead to answer his own argument in the dayes of

Demosthenes

Bonifacius the third, *Whosoever shall be called universall Bishop, is the fore-runner of Antichrist. &c.*

Epaph. Yet *Bellarmine* hath found out two shifts for *Bonifacius*, and they twentie for themselues. But being baited on this beginning, they not onely grew wanton themselves, and ran away vvith the harrowes, but wrought upon others by terrors and promises as they thought to prevaile; and the course once inclining to the dounwith and growing calme, men fell away by heaps: the sweet name of peace being made a visor to cover the ugly face of a strange monster.

Archip. *The beginning of strife is as vvhen one letteth out vvater, Prov.* 17.14. And you seeme to have sayd that our present inundations did begin at that breach.

Epaph. It was so indeed: for in the next assembly holden at Dundie the water becomes broader, and the schisme begun at Perth, groweth greater: 1. by difference of judgement anent the confirmation of the former assembly holden at Perth: 2. by diversitie of opinions concerning the setting down of some notes in forme of declaration of certaine of the acts concluded at Perth, explaining his Maiesties and the assemblies meaning for the satisfaction of such as then vvere not acquainted therewith, and now to be registred in this assembly at Dundie, to remaine, &c. but like the glosse of Orleans: 3. by indulgence, for duetie, directed in a new commission carying greater favour to the excommunicats & their vassals, their insinuating care of the dangers of the Kirk imminent from a higher cause: 4. from a new forme of commission drawing power from the generall assembly to a few number of persons, and arming them for execution of some of the dangerous articles rashly yeelded to, as did appeare in diverse attempts. Lastly, about excommunication and other points of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction. And againe the spait of division swelleth to a great height, the flouds encrease and prevaile in the assembly holden at Dundie the 7 of March 1597, 1. by certaine greeves put in Articles by brethren of divers quarters of the countrey; and given in against the the proceedings of the commissioners anent alterations made at Edinburgh and Santandros and forme of casting out and putting in ministers: the vvhich greeves behoved to be buried, otherwise no peace for the Kirke. 2. for the commissioners presumption taking upon them vvithout expresse and particular warrant from the Kirk to treat with the parliament holden at Edinburgh the 19 of December 1597. anent the Kirkes vote in parliament, she standing as yet in doubt if it should be thought leesome that the ministers should succeed in the prelates places for voting in Parliament. 3. About the diversitie of iudgement anent the

1 May 1597. Continued and increasing at Dundie.

conditions of the sayd vote, some holding that the Kirk should be declared the third estate of parliament, and authorized with all lawfull priviledges, and having libertie as Barons and Burgesses have, to choose their own commissioners, others ready to take the same in what sort and vpon vvhat conditions it might bee had. 4. About that woefull commission continued and enlarged vvith a seeming, but sore clause for keeping the Ministers free of offences.

Archip. Your vvaters are like to grow to a sea vvherin the course of navigation looseth the sight of the one pole, and entreth in some degrees of elevation of the other. Beware of shipwrack of religion in the end.

Prevailing at Monrose

Epaph. The truth is, the division prevailing at Dundie, becommeth a great sea at Montrose, and bringeth in that Trojan horse so pleasantly palliat vvith a faire mantle of fine caveats, and even then greedily gaped for by some, foresmelling their own wealth & honour in that Ecclesiasticall Tragedie, but constantly refused by others foreseeing and fearing more sorrow to the Kirk in the conditions annexed, then apprehending good in a seeming benefit so violently offred. In that generall assembly the 18 day of March 1600, after many combats and braulings about the cautions restraining the commissioners voters in Parliament from corruption frowardly, as it might be, the caveats, the lurking deceit of hierarchie vvere finally set downe.

Archip. These palliative caveats are in form and effect much like the professions set out by *Fægadius* and *Servatio*, to save the Kirk as they imagined from Arrian perfidie, but in event a furtherance to their blasphemous hæresie and cruell victorie. It vvere better to hold theeves at the doore, then wait upon them in the house that they steale not. I vvould know before I proceed, vvhat miseries followed upon this unhappy division and alteration made in these foure assemblies begun at Dundie, and concluded at Montrose.

Evils ensuing upon the former division.

Epaph. The tongue and pen of another *Nazianzene* vvere not sufficient to deplore and expresse them to the full. In the generall assembly holden at Bruntyland the next yeare 1601 May 12. and at Halyrood-house the yeare following 1602, November 10. these are pointed at: Defection from the puritie, zeale and practise of true religion proceeding from the just vvrath of God for dishonouring of our profession, the negligence of the Ministers against Papists, the desolation of divers parts of the countrey for lack of Pastors, the neglecting of places of chiefest importance to the interest of religion, in not planting them vvith sufficient Pastors: the ouer-hasty admission of men to the ministerie

before

before their sufficiencie be knowne: the negligence of Ministers in reading the Scriptures, and controversies betwixt the reformed Kirk and enemies thereof: the uncomely carriage of Ministers framing themselves excessiuely to the humors of men in communications, intemperance, and light apparrell, the distraction vvhich is supposed to bee from some of the ministerie, and of themselves from themselves, the desolation of the Kirke of Edinburgh, the great favour showne to Papists, and their great credit by that meanes, in negligent education of noble mens children, the impunitie of Saylers transporting and bringing within the countrey Seminarie Priests and Iesuits vvith their coffers and books, that men suspect in religion when they are challenged, haue accesse to court during the time of their processe. That the late reconciled Papists are not urged to performe the conditions agreed to at their reconciliation to the Kirke; All vvhich were either caused or occasioned by the former division.

Epaph. It had been high time vpon these evident dangers and pittifull cryes of the Kirk, to haue repented of the former division, and to haue returned to their brotherly vnitie and Philadelphian profession, *Nec enim vllum malus concordiæ vinculum quam timor externus.*

Epaph. Multi clerici sunt progenies viperarum. Policie did foresee that that happy course vvould not satisfie the burning lust of Hierarchie: and therefore they are so farre from once looking back to brotherly agreement upon equall conditions, that esteeming the fire of division to be the most naturall element for their purpose, they add fresh oyle by labouring to abolish the Iurisdiction of the Kirk, and giving a dead stroake to her chiefe priviledge of holding of generall Assemblies ordinarily once in the yeare, and after *pro re nata*, which is the second essentiall degree of our defection. Second degree of defection, for Iurisdiction usurpation.

Archbp. I haue seen the rent of vnitie, I beseech you to bee as plaine in this poynt, that I may be informed upon what occasion and by what meanes the Kirk was deprived of that awfull power and faire libertie.

Epaph. According to the order usually observed, the Assemblie at Halyrood house 1602. appointed the next generall Assembly to bee holden at Aberdene in the yeare 1604 by reason 1 of the insolencie of Papists in the North countrey, 2 a purpose to plant Noblemens houses and chiefe places with sufficient ministers, 3 to prosecute the remedies of defection remembred in the assembly at Bruntyland, 4 that the late reconciled Papists might be urged to performe the conditions agreed to by them. Assembly at Aberdene.

Lastly, to follow out the common affaires of the Kirk. Notwithstanding these and other intervenient causes that dyet was not kept, but the Assembly continued once & to be continued again: Wherupon the Provinciall Assemblies and Presbyteries considering that the Parliament was approching for which Articles were to be dressed in the Assemblie, according to the order continually observed since the reformation, that the people were begun to delude the censures of inferiour Assemblies by appellation to the generall, that all the forenamed evils were daily growing greater; and thinking upon the necessitie of that rare benefite so deerly bought, and fearing the losse thereof so many waies apparant, as 1 by abridgement, or deprivation of wonted libertie to convene: 2 by division of the members therof, begun at Perth, and now come to so great height: 3 by terrours and strange imputations against their Ministers, their meetings and assisters: 4 by often changing of appointed dyets, and at some times bringing the Assemblie within the pallace: 5 by a cunning, but woefull commission drawing from the wisest counsell of the Kirk, to certaine Ministers, the credit and guiding of the greatest affaires: 6 by continuations multiplyed as prejudiciall to the Kirk, as Papistrie, profanneſse, and other corruptions did sensibly increase, conforme to the order and custome of the Kirk ratified by the lawes of the countrie; they directed their commissioners to meet at Aberdeen the 2 of Iuly 1605 for holding the Generall Assemblie, as was formerly appointed: of these commissioners a certaine number kept and the rest were absent, and so nothing was done but Call and Continue for safetie of the priviledge, by appointing a new Diet, a silly Seminarie, but of many and grievous troubles: the men were first called, and for a long time put in prison, therafter proceeded against by course of law, found guiltie of high treason, returned to their severall prisons, and therafter banished. Since that Assemblie we haue had the name of Generall Assemblies, but no more, according to the maine maxime of policie, that the name bee as little changed as may bee, though the thing bee changed.

Third degree for order Episcopacie, advanced by 6 steps.

Archipp. When unitie and authoritie are now gone, I marvell not that Hierarchie comes the greater speed, But I would know the rest of the waies of that Ambition, and therein see the third step of our defection: For as yet I see it riseth upon the ruines of the Kirk, and proues like the melt in the bodie, as it swelleth and waxeth great the strength and beautie of the bodie decayeth.

First step of Prelacie votein Parliament.

Epaph. Neither was this Rome builded the first day: The first great step of their blind-winding staires, whereupon they are lifted by all the former engines and preparations was, their vote in Parliament,

Parliament. For upon the former calamities, as wisher before the wind of their great prosperitie, a Parliament was appointed and kept at Perth the first of July 1606, where they having creeppen into Bishoprickes, vvithout respect to Calling, Commission or Caveat, were horsed upon the highest honours of their Episcopall dignitie. At that beginning they looked somewhat modestly as new come from the schoole of old ministeriall paritie, and as novices in their new world, would have been glad of the countenance of their old acquaintance: but since that they have learned to walk in state and soft rayment, as little respecting the greatest seculars as they were regarded of all honest men before: but gay clothes and great places will make Mookies to seem Monsieures, and forgetfull fooles to say, this cannot be I. At that berrie mercat of Kirk livings by that common interchange where havocke beastes sway, *Take thou this, and I that*: for the purchase of thirteen dilapidate Bishoprickes forth of the hands of civill men, to the use of civilized Ministers, the Kirk did loose the greatest part of her rent destinate for the service of the Gospell, and *ad pios usus*. And without all feare to follow such sacrilege, *Restitutio ad integrum* was deerly bought what by erections of Ecclesiasticall peers in temporall Lordships, and evertions of Kirk priviledges by Hierarchicall domination.

Archipp. It had been easie to bring them downe again from that first step: neither at any time before or since could the opportunitie be greater; before, the working was secret under the ground, and denyed; now the monsters of ambition and avarice set out their heads, afterwards they became stronger. A shame that the watchmen are now all fast asleep, that all the friends of the Kirk have dealt treacherously with her. A pitie that there be none to speak a word in season for her against her enemies.

Epaph. Soft I pray you, be not so passionate, breath a little, there was no neglect of duties for the ministers of the Gospell having commission from their Provinciall Assemblies and Presbyteries to convene there for the vveale of the Kirk, apprehending her hurt, & having neither place nor povver to resist did solemnly and humbly protest in the manner and vvords following.

The earnest desire of our hearts is to be faithfull, and in case we could have been silent and faithfull at this time, When the undermined estate of Christs Kirk craves a dutie at our hands; we should have locked up our hearts with patience, and our mouthes with taciturnitie, rather then to have impeached any with our admonition: But that which Christ commandeth, necessitie urgeth; and dutie bringeth out of us to be faithfull Office bearers in the Kirk of God, no man can justly blame us to do it, providing we hold our selfe within the bounds of that Christian moderation Protestation against vote in Parliament.

deration which followeth God, without injurie done to any man, specially those whom God hath lapped up within the skirts of his owne honorable stiles and names, calling them Gods upon earth: Now therefore (my Lords convened in this present Parliament, under the most high and excellent Majestie of our dread Soveraigne) to your Honours is our exhortation, that yee would indevour with all singlenesse of heart, love and zeale, to advance the building of the house of God; reserving alwayes into the Lord his owne hands that glorie which he will communicate neither with man nor Angell, to wit, to prescribe from his holy mountaine a lively patterne according to which his own Tabernacle should be formed: remembring alwaies that there is no absolute and unbounded authoritie in this World, except the soveraigne authoritie of Christ the King, to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the Kirk, according to the good pleasure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to save his Kirk by the merit of his own sufferings. All other authoritie is so intrenched within the marches of divine commandement, that the least overpassing of the bounds set by God himselfe, bringeth men under the fearefull expectation of temporall and eternall judgements. For this cause, my Lords, let that authoritie of your meeting in this present Parliament, be like the Ocean sea, which as it is greatest of all other waters, so it contayneth it selfe better within the coasts and limits appointed by God, then any river of fresh running waters have done. Next remember that God hath set you to be Nourish Fathers of his Kirk, craving at your hands that yee should maintaine and advance by your authoritie that Kirk which the Lord hath fashioned by the uncounterfaited work of his own new creation (as the Prophet speak th) he hath made us, and not we our selves, but not that she should presume to fashion and shape a new portrature of a Kirke, and a new forme of divine service which God in his word hath not before allowed, because that were to extend your authoritie farther then the calling yee have of God doth permit. As namely if ye should (as God forbid) authorise the authoritie of the Bishops, and their preheminence above their brethren, yee should bring into the Kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the experience of preceding ages hath testified to have been the ground of great idlenes, palpable ignorance, unsufferable pride, pittilesse tyrannie, and shamelesse ambition in the Kirk of God: and finally to have been the ground of that Antichristian Hierarchie which mounted up on the steps of preheminence of Bishops untill that man of sin came forth as the ripe fruit of man his Wisedome, whom God shall consume with the breath of his own mouth. Let the sword of God pearce that belly which brought forth such a monster; and let the staffe of God crush that Egge which hath hatched such a Cocatrice. And let not onely that Romane Antichrist be thrown down from the high bench of his usurped authoritie, but also let all the steps whereby he mounted up to that unlawfull preheminence

Heb. 12, 25 28. 29.

Esa. 49. 23.

Psa. 100. 1

1 Thess. 2. 8.

heminence be cut doun and utterly aboliſhed in this land. Aboue all things (my Lords) beware to ſtriue againſt God with an open and diſplayed banner, by building up againe the Walles of Iericho, which the Lord hath not onely caſt doun, but alſo hath layd them under a terrible interdiction and execration: ſo that the building of them againe muſt needs ſtand to greater charges to the builders, then the reedifying of Iericho to Hiel *the* Bethelit *in the dayes of* Achab. *For he had nothing but the interdiction of* Ioſhua, *and the curſe pronounced by him to ſtay him from building again of Iericho. But the Noblemen and States of this Realme haue the reuerence of the oath of God made by themſelues, & ſubſcribed with their owne hands in the confeſſion of faith, called* The Kings Maieſties, *publiſhed more then once or twice, and ſworn by his moſt excellent Maieſtie, and by his Higneſſe Nobilitie, Eſtates and whole ſubiects of the Realme, to hold them back from ſetting up the dominion of Biſhops. Becauſe it is of veritie that they ſubſcribed and ſwore the ſayd commiſſion, containing not onely the maintenance of the true doctrine, but alſo of the diſcipline profeſſed within the Realme of Scotland. Conſider alſo that the worke cannot be ſet forward without the great ſlander of the Goſpell, defamation of many preachers, and euident loſſe and hurt of the peoples ſoules committed to our charge. For the people are brought almoſt to the like caſe as they were in Syria, Arabia and Ægypt about the 600 yeare of our Lord, when the people were ſo brangled & ſhaken with contrary doctrines, ſome denying and others allowing the opinion of* Eutiches, *that in the end they loſt all aſſured perſuaſion of true religion; and within ſhort time thereafter, did caſt the gates of their hearts open to the diuell to receiue that vile and blaſphemous Doctrine of Mahomet. Euen ſo the people of the Lord are caſt in ſuch admiration to heare the preachers, who ſo openly damned this ſtately prehemineence of Biſhops, then within a few yeares after accept the ſame dignitie, pompe and ſuperioritie in their own perſons, which they before had damned in others, that the people know not which way to incline, and in end will become ſo doubtfull in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts will be like an open taberne dore, patent to euery gueſt that likes to come in. We beſeech your honours to ponder this in the ballance of a godly and prudent minde, and ſuffer not the Goſpel to be ſlandered by the behaviour of a few number of preachers; of whom we are bold to affirme, that, if they goe forward in this defection, not onely abuſing and appropriating that name Biſhop to themſelues onely, which is common to all the Paſtors of God his Kirk, but alſo taking upon themſelues ſuch offices that carry with them the ordinarie charge of gouerning the ciuill affairs of the countrey, neglecting their flockes, and ſeeking to ſubordinate their brethren to their iuriſdiction. If any of them (Deſy) be found to ſtep forward in this courſe of defection, they are more worthy as rotten members to be cut off from the body of Chriſt, then to haue ſuperioritie and dominion ouer their brethren within the kirk of God.* Act. 20. 17 28. Phil. 1. 1. 1. Tim. 3. 1. 2. Tit. 1. 5. 7. 1. Pet. 5. 1. 2.

The preheminence of Bishops is that Dagon which once alreadie fell before the Ark of God in this land, and no hand of yron shall be able to hold him up againe. This is that paterne of that Altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountaine, and therefore it shall fare with it as it did with that Altar of Damascus; It came last in the Temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ was anterior to this preheminence of Bishops; and shall consist and stand within the house of God, when this new fashion of Altar shall goe to the dore. Remember (my Lords) that in time past your authoritie was for Christ and not against him, yee followed the light of God and stryved not against it, and like a child in the mothers hand ye said to Christ, Draw us after thee. God forbid that yee should now leave off and fall away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presuming to lead him whom the Father hath appointed to be a leader of you, and farre lesse to traile the holy Ordinances of Christ by the cords of your authoritie at the heeles of the ordinances of men. And albeit your Honours have no such intention to doe any thing which may impaire the honour of Christs Kingdome, yet remember that spirituall darkenesse flowing from a verie small beginning doth so insinuate and thrust it selfe into the house of God, as men can hardly discern by what secret meanes the light is dimm, and darknesse creeping in got the upper hand, and in end unawares all is involved within a mistie cloud of horrible Apostasie. And least that any should thinke this our admonition out of time, in so farre as it is statute and ordained already by his Majestie, with advise of his estates in Parliament, that all Ministers provided to Prelacies should have vote in Parliament; As likewise the generall Assembly (his Majestie being present thereat) hath found the same lawfull and expedient. We would humbly and most earnestly beseech all such to consider, first that the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, the Officebearers and Lawes thereof neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution or alteration, besides the prescript of his holy Word, by any inventions or doings of men, Civill or Ecclesiasticall. And we are able by the grace of God, and will offer our selves to prove, that this Bishoprie to be erected is against the Word of God, the ancient fathers and Canons of the Kirk, the moderne most learned and godly Divines, the doctrine and constitution of the Kirk of Scotland since the first reformation of Religion within the same countrie, the Lawes of the realme ratifying the government of the Kirk by the generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Prestyteries and Sessions; also against the Weale and honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie, the Weale and honour of the Realme and quietnesse thereof, the stablished estate and Weale of the Kirk in the doctrine, discipline and patrimonie thereof; the Weale and honour of your Lordships, the most ancient estate of this Realme; and finally against the Weale of all, and everie one of the good subjects thereof in soule, bodie and substance.

Next a.

Next, that the Act of Parliament granting vote in Parliament to Ministers is with a speciall provision that nothing thereby bee derogatorie or prejudiciall to the present established discipline of the Kirk and jurisdiction thereof in Generall and Synodall Assemblies, Presbyteries and Sessions. Thirdly and last, the generall Assemblie (the Kings Majestie sitting, voting, and consenting therein) fearing the corruption of that office hath subscribed and bounded the same with a number of Cautions. All which together, with such other as shall be concluded upon by the Assembly, were thought expedient to be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in Parliament, as most necessarie and substantiall parts of the same. And the said Assembly hath not agreed to giue thereunto the name of Bishops, for fear of importing the old corruption, pompe and tyrannie of Popish Bishops, but ordained them to be called Commissioners for the Kirk to vote in Parliament. And it is of veritie that according to those Cautions, neither haue those men now called Bishops, entred to that office of Commissioners to vote in Parliament, neither since their enjoying haue they behaved themselues therin. And therefore in the name of the Lord Iesus Christ who shall hold that great Court of Parliament to judge both the quicke and the dead at his glorious manifestation, and in name of his Kirk in generall, so happily and well established within this Realme, and whereof the said Realme hath reaped the comfortable fruit of peace and unitie, free from heresie, schisme and dissention these 46 yeares bypast; also in name of our Presbyteries, from which we haue our commission, and in our own name, officebearers & Pastors within the same, for discharging of our necessarie dutie, and disburdening of our consciences in particular, We except and protest against the said Bishopric and Bishops, and the erection, confirmation or ratification thereof at this present Parliament: Most humbly craving that this our Protestation may be admitted by your Honours, and registred among the Acts and Statutes of the same, in case (as God forbid) these Bishoprickes bee erected, ratified or confirmed therein.

Archib. I blesse the Lord for the demonstration of his power in the libertie of his servants, and thinkes the course should haue halted there, if the protestation had been made good by reasons. But they ever object unto you froward affections, and great zeale, with small knowledge and little actions; strong protestations and conclusions upon weak probations, and feeble premisses.

Epaph. A Disputation is one thing and Protestation is another: They had no place thé, nor I pupole now to reason the matter; yet for stopping your mouth, & the mind of the adversarie, I shal giue you a view of the reasons that were at that time penned against that first step of Prelacie, according to the heads & order proponed in

Reasons of the Protestation.

in the protestation, wherein ye will perhaps behold a copie of the plaine, pertinent and pithie simplicitie of the Ministers of that time: and how new wits with their quiddities, are as far degenerate in knowledge as in affection.

Chap. I.

That the Office of this new sort of Bishops is against the the word of God.

Argum. I.

That the Ministers of God, separate from the common affaires of the world, sanctified and consecrated to the service of God and salvation of his people, should haue a publick office and charge in the Common wealth and worldly affaires is flat repugnant to the word of God, and particular places of Scripture following, Numb. c. 3 v 44 45. *And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, take the Levites for all the first borne of the children of Israel, and the Levits shall be mine, I am the Lord.* Numb. c. 18. v. 6. *For loe I haue taken the Levites from among the children of Israel, who as a gift are given to the Lord to doe the service of the congregation and tabernacle thereof.* Deut. 18 12. *The Priests and the Levits shall haue no part nor inheritance with Israel, for the Lord is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them.* Deut. 10 8. *The same time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi to beare the Arke of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him and to blesse in his name unto this day.* Act. 13 2. *Now as they ministred unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I haue called them.* Rom. 1 v. 1. *Paul a servant of Iesus Christ put apart or separat to preach the Gospell of God.* These and many more places of Scripture proues the proposition. Then to assume: But so it is, these Bishops are ministers of God by their profession, are counsellers in the Common wealth, Lords in Parliament and conventions of the estates, Lords of Townes, Barones of Lands &c. They run to Court leaving their Ministerie, to get Bishopricks which they haue obtained with all priviledges of the old Bishoprickes which they pride them in, publicklie in the sight of all, and presence of the greatest: Therefore all against the word of God.

Argum. II.

That the Ministers of Christ should be distracted from preaching of the word and doctrine, is direct against the Scripture, name-

namely these places. Deut. 33 8. *And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one, whom thou didst prove in Massah, and didst contend with him at the waters of Meribah: Who said unto his father and unto his mother, I have not seen him, neither knew he his brethren nor his own children, for they observed thy word and kept thy covenant. They shall teach Jacob thy judgements and Israel thy Law: they shall put incense before thy face, and the burnt-offrings on thine Altar.* Luk. 9 59. *Christ said to one, follow me, who answered, suffer me first to go and burie my father: Christ answered, Let the dead burie the dead, and go you and preach the Gospell of the Kingdome of God. Another sayes, Maister I would follow thee, but let me first go and take order with my house, Christ answered, no man that puts his hand to the plough and looks back, is meet for the Kingdome of God.* Act. 6 2 *Then the twelve called the multitude of the Disciples together, and said, It is not meet that we should leave the word of God to serve tables.* Now the Arguments from these places concludes most strongly, *a comparatis*. For if most necessarie naturall oeconomick, yea even Ecclesiasticall offices, as of Eldership and Deaconship should not distract from the preaching of the word such as hath the gift and calling therto, much lesse should civill and worldly offices and affaires. But yet to insist with their command and charge and most weightie exhortation and attestation out of the word Joh. 21 15 16 17. *So when they had dined, Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jona lovest thou me more then these? he said unto him, yea Lord thou knowest that I love thee: he said unto him feed my Lambes: he said unto him the second time, Simon the sonne of Jona lovest thou me? he said unto him, yea Lord thou knowest that I love thee, hee said unto him feed my sheep. Hee said unto him the third time, Simon lovest thou me? Peter was sorie because he said unto him the third time lovest thou me? he said unto him, yea Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee, Jesus said unto him feed my sheep.* 1 Tim. 3 16 *Take care of these things till I come, give attendance to reading, exhortation and doctrine, these things exercise, and give thy selfe unto them, that it may be seene that thou profits among all men: Take heed to thy selfe and to doctrine, continue therein, for in doing this thou shalt both save thy selfe and them that heare thee,* Again *I charge thee therfore before God and before the Lord Jesus Christ who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, preach the word, be instant in season and out of season, improve, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. Watch, in all things suffer affliction, doe the work of an Evangelist, make thy ministery fully perswaded, viz. to be a faithfull and good Minister to all.* If then the loue of Jesus Christ be in the hearts of Ministers, if the care, attendance & whole occupation and exercise of them ought to be in reading

exhortation and doctrine for the saving of themselves and others if they should preach the word, improve, rebuke, exhort in season and out of season, and make all times seasonable therfore: and no time rightly spent without that. And finally, if they think to stand before that great iudge in that fearfull day of his appearance in glorious and terrible maiestie, as such as haue fully approven that ministerie, to their owne conscience, and the conscience of others in the sight of God: let them see how they may be distracted with civill offices and affaires: and if so to bee, bee not directly against the word of God; seeing they should be singers and chiefe fathers of the Levits in the chambers of the Lords house, having no other charge but to be occupied in that businesse day and night, 1. Chron. 9. 33.

Argum. III.

To make and esteeme the charge of soules so light, that therewithall another office and charge civill, publick and worldly, may be ioyned and borne, is direct against the word of God, and particular parts thereof subsequent. But so doe the Bishops, Ezech. 34. *And the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, prophesie against the Pastors of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Woe be to the Pastors that feed themselues, yee eat the fat and cloath you with the woll, but yee feed not the flocke, the weak haue ye not strengthened, the sick haue yee not healed, neither haue yee bound up the broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, neither haue yee sought that which was lost, &c. The flocke were scattered without a shepheard, and the sheepe wandred.* Zach. 11. 17. *O idle shepheard that leaues the flocke, the sword shall be upon his arme and upon his right eye: his arme shall be cleane dryed up, and his right eye shal be utterly darkned.* Act. 20. 20. *I haue kept nothing back that was profitable, but haue shewed and taught you openly, and throughout every house. I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. Take heed vnto your selues, and to all the flock whereof the holy Ghost hath made you overseers, or Bishops to feed the Kirk of God, which hee hath purchased with his own blood. Watch and remember that by the space of three years I ceased not to warne every one both night and day with teares.* 1. Pet. 5. 2. 8. *Feed the flock of God, caring for it with a ready minde. Be sober and watch, for your adversarie the Divell goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devoure.* 2. Cor. 2. 15. *For wee are unto God the sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish, to the one wee are the savour of death unto death, and to the other a savour of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things? For wee are not as many, who make merchandise of the word of God, but as of sincerite, but as of God in the sight of God speake wee in Christ.* Heb. 13. 17.

Obey

Obey your guides and bee subject unto them, for they watch over your soules, as such as should give an account of them. Wee may then boldly of these Scriptures, and many moe, evidently shew and conclude, that they never knew what the charge of soules meant, that would joyne therewith a publique and politique office and charge; or if they knew it, they never weighed and felt it: they are strangely blinded, benumbed, and miscarryed by Balaams wages.

Argum. IIII.

The mixing, jumbling, and confounding of iurisdictions and callings in one person which God hath distinguished in persons & manner of handling, is against his word. But so it is, that the office of Bishoprie confounds the spirituall and civill iurisdictions and callings in the person of one. Ergo. Numb. 18. vers. 4. 5. *Yee shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation for all the service of the tabernacle, and no stranger shall come neere unto you, the stranger that comes neere shall bee slaine.* The ministers then of Gods service, and the civill rulers are strangers one to another, and should not bee confounded under paine of death. 2. Chron. 19. 11. *Behold Amariah the Priest shall be chiefe over you in all the matters of the Lord, and Zebadiah the son of Ismael a ruler of the house of Iudah, shall be for all the Kings affaires.* Deut. 22. 9. *Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard With divers sorts of seeds, least thou defile the increase of thy seed, Which thou hast sowen, and the fruit of thy vineyard: Thou shalt not plow With an Oxe and an Asse together, thou shalt not weare a garment of divers sorts, as of Woollen and linnen together.* Doth God play the Gardiner, Ploughman or Webster here, or is not this a ceremoniall command to eschew all mixture and confusion in the Lords vineyard, field and shop, which is his Kirk and people. This also the Apostle (1. Corinth. chap. 9.) teacheth us, citing that Ceremoniall command, *Thou shalt not muzzell the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corne*, for the provision of the Ministers of the kirk with things temporall. And finally, our master in the Gospell distinguisheth expressly, betwixt the things pertaining to God and to Cæsar, saying, *Give unto Cæsar that Which is Cæsars, and to God that Which is Gods.*

Argum. V.

That the Officers of Christs Kingdome should meddle with things not pertaining to the kingdom of Christ, is unlawfull to bee busie bodies in matters impertinent to them against the scripture.

Scripture. But civill and worldly offices and matters pertaining not to the kingdome of Christ, and yet are medled with by these Bishops, therefore against the Scripture, Iohn. 6. 18. *Iesus then knowing that they were come to take him and make him their king, he withdrew himselfe into the mountaine alone.* Ioh. 18. 36. *Iesus answered and sayd unto Pilat, My kingdome is not of this world.* Remembring the which confessions, that Christ was a king, but his kingdome was not of this world, the Apostle *Paul* gives a charge unto *Timothie*, *I charge thee*, sayth he, *in the sight of God who quickens all things, and before Iesus Christ, who under Pontius Pilat witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandement*, meaning anent the whole discipline and ruling of the whole kingdome of Iesus Christ, that is not of this world, set down by the Apostle in that Epistle, 1. Tim. 6. 13. Ioh. 8. 11. *Iesus sayd to the adultresse, neither doe I iudge thee, goe and sin no more.* Luk. 12. 13. 14. *And one of the multitude sayd unto him, Master speak to my brother that he may divide the heritage with me, he sayd unto him, O man, who made me a iudge over you?* The civill and worldly offices then haue nothing to doe with the kingdome of Christ in their persons, and are such as neither Christ nor his Apostles ever took on, or would take upon them.

Argum. VI.

That Christs ministers should beare worldly preheminence, bruik ambitious stiles, and be called gracious Lords, is against the word of God, and speciall scripture vnderwritten. But the office of Bishoprick brings in all these wherin they pride themselues against the scriptures. Mat. 23. 6. *The Scribes and Pharisees love the first rooms at feasts, and the chiefest rooms in the Synagogues, and salutations in the Markets, and be called Rabbi: But be ye not called Rabbi, for yee have one master, and ye are all brethren. Let him that is great among you, be a servant: for whosoever will lift himselfe up, shall be casten downe, and he that will humble himselfe shall bee exalted.* Luk. 22. 15. *There entred a contention among them, who should be greatest; But he sayd unto them, The Kings of the Nations beare rule over them, and are called gracious Lords, but ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you let him be as the least, and he that is the guide as the servant.* And in very deed, experience proves that these ambitious stiles wherewith they are honoured by Heraulds, flattered by a great number, and scorned by farr moe, makes them (as the Apostle speakes of widowes) to grow wanton against Christ, miskenning him, them selues, and their calling, to despise their equals, and to presume over their superiours.

Argum. VII.

That the Souldier of Christ should be involved in the affaires of this life, and one bound to serve two maisters, is flat repugnant to the word of God. But this office of Bishoprick involveth them, &c. Ergo. Numb. 4. 3. *From thirtie yeare old and aboue, all that are meet to take on this warfare to doe the work in the tabernacle of the congregation.* 2. Tim. 2. 3. 4 *Thou therefore suffer affliction as a good souldier of Iesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a souldier.* It is evident by all these Scriptures, and a number moe which may be brought forth, that the office of these Bishops is repugnant and direct against the word of God. As for Episcopall corruptions in vsurping authoritie aboue the Pastors of the Kirk, & arrogating to them the governmẽt of the kirk, which appertains to the common care and counsell of the Elders in Assemblies and Presbyteries by the vvord of God, because they dare not defend, I insist not to lay it out plainly, but think it enough for the present, to quot these places of Scripture and Fathers following, till we heare it brought in question. 1. Tim. 4. 1. Tim. 3. 1. Tit. 1. Act. 20. 1 Cor. 12. 1. Tim. 5. Rom. 12. 1. Cor. 5. 1. Thess. 5. Heb. 13. Math. 5. & 18. Act. 15. & 21. Math. 16. Ephes. 4. 1. Pet. 5. Math. 23. Luk. 22. Phil. 1. Ioh. 20. Act. 14. 23. Tertul. Apologet. 39. Hieron. l. 2. c. 3. Origenes Hom. 7. in Iosuam. Irenæus ad Victor. Cypr. lib. 2. Epist. & lib. 6. Epist. & 9. Ambros. serm. 11. Epiphanius contra hæreses hæres. 75. August. de cor. & gratia c. 5. Euseb de vita Constantin, l. 3. Prosper. de vitand. corrup. l. 10. cap. Chrysost. de sacerdotio, &c.

Chap. II.

That such a Bishoprie is against the ancient Canons of Kirk, and Councels.

THAT the Pastors and Bishops of the Kirk should set themselves to politicke administration, and court affairs, and bee occupied in secular and worldly matters, leaving their flocks and follow the puffed vp pomp and glory of the world, is against the ancient Canons of the Kirk, namely these following, which as epitomes of many other to the like effect, we are content with for the present. Amongst these most ancient Canons, called the Apost. the 80 Canon is, *Diximus, quod non oportet Episcopum aut Presbyterum politicis se administrationibus, immiscere*

immiscere. sed vacare & commodū se exhibere usibus Ecclesiasticis; animū igitur inducito hoc non facere aut deponito, Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire. Synod. Nicæna. & Constant. *Nemo clericus vel Diaconus vel Presbyter propter ejusdam suam quam libet intret in curiam, quoniam omnis curia à cruore dicta est: Et si quis clericus in curiam introeat anathema suscipiat nunquam rediens ad matrem Ecclesiam.* Synod. Chalcedon. œcumenica confes. 15 *Ne Episcopi aut Clerici rebus se politicis implicent aut prædia aliena conducant.* Sexta Synod. univers Constant. Can. 8. *Episcopis non competit Ecclesiastica aut politica eminentia, Episcopus aut Presbyter militiæ vacāns, & volens utrumque principatum humanum, & sacerdotalem dignitatem, deponitor. Nim quæ Cæsaris sunt Cæsari, & quæ Dei Deo danda.* Ex Epist. Concilii Africani ad Papam Cælestinum. *Ne fumosum typhum seculi in Ecclesiam Christi quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis videre cupientibus aufert videamur inducere.* Synod. Macrensis. *Ne rex Pontificis dignitatem, ne Pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumat, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque à Deo distinguuntur ut & Christiani reges pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent & Pontifices pro temporalium rerum cursu regum dispositionibus uterentur, quatenus spiritualis actio à carnalibus distaret in cursibus, & ideo militans Domino minime se negotiis sæcularibus implicaret, ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur.* Synod. 4 Carthaginensis, *Ut Episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed ut lectioni & orationi & verbi tantummodo prædicationi vacet.* Synod. Romana. *Universis clericis interdicimus, ne quis prætextu Ecclesiasticæ libertatis suam de cætero jurisdictionem extendat in prejudicium justitiæ sæcularis, at quæ sunt Cæsaris reddantur Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo.* In the end and conclusion of this point, we would beseech our brethren, who hunts for these Bishoprickes, and pretends much for them Antiquitie, to weigh the words of *Damasus*, one of the old Bishops of the uncorrupt Kirk of Rome, approved in the Councell of Neocæsarea and Antiochia in anno 371. Damasus & concilium Neocæs. & Antioch. anno 371. *Episcopi qui sæcularibus intenti curis greges corepiscopis vel vicariis commendant, videntur mihi meretricibus similes quæ statim ut pariunt infantes suos aliis meretricibus tradunt educandos quo suam citius libidinem explere valeant. Sic & isti infantes suos .i. populos sibi commissos aliis educandos tradunt ut suas libidines expleant .i. pro suo libitu sæcularibus curis inhient & quod unicuique visū fuerit liberius agant. Pro talibus enim animæ negliguntur, morbi crescunt, hæreses & schismata prodeunt, destruuntur Ecclesiæ, sacerdotes vitiantur & reliqua mala proveniunt: non taliter Dominus docuit, nec Apostoli instituerunt, sed ipsi qui curam suscipiunt ipsi peragant & ipsi propros manipulos Domino repræsentent. Nam ipse orbem perditum dili-*

gentur

genter quæsivit ipse propriis humeris reportavit, nosque ideipsum facere perdocuit. Si ipse pro ovibus tantam curam habuit, quid nos miseri dicturi sumus qui pro ovibus nobis commissis curam impendere negligimus, & aliis eas educandas tradimus. Audiant quæso quid beatus Iacob dixerit socero suo, pignori omnes sui tecum, oves tuæ & capræ steriles non fuerunt, arietes gregis tui non comedi nec captum à bestia ostendi tibi: ego damnum omne reddebam; & quicquid furto perierat à me exigebas; die noctuque æstu urgebar & gelu, fugiebat somnus ab oculis meis: Si ergo sic laborat & vigilat qui pascit oves Laban, quanto laborioſius an ſque vigiliis debet intendere qui pascit oves Dei Sed in his omnibus nos instruat qui dedit pro ovibus suis animam. Let theſe Biſhops then in time bite upon this, who for one preaching made to the people rides fortie poſtes to Court: for a daies attending on the flocke ſpends monthes in Court, Councell, Parliament and Conventions; And for a thought or word beſtowed for the weale of any ſoule, cares a hundreth for their apparell, their trayns, fleſhly pleaſure and gowkit glorioſitie: Or they ſhall be bitten eternally with that worme that never dies, when Chriſt ſhall come and call them to account of their diſpenſation.

Chap. III.

That ſuch a Biſhoprie is againſt the doctrine of the fathers and Doctors of the Kirk ancient and moderne.

THeir bookes are full of this matter conſonant to the holy Scripture, and ancient Councels and Canons of the Kirk; onely therefore a few teſtimonies for examples ſake. Tertul. de Idololatria cap. 18. *Si poteſtatem nullam ne in ſuos quidem exercuit Chriſtus quibus ſordido miniſterio ſunctus eſt, ſi regem ſe fieri conſcius ſui regni, refugit, plenisſime dedit formam ſuis de reiiciendo omni faſtigio & ſuggeſtu tam dignitatis quam poteſtatis, quis enim magis his uſus fuiſſet quam Dei filius? quales enim faſces tum producerent, quale aurum de capite radiaret niſi gloriam ſæculi alienam & ſibi & ſuis indicaſſet.* Cyril. in Ioan. l. 3 c. 20. *Honor & gloria mundi fugienda ſunt iis qui velint gloriam dei conſequi.* Ambroſ. in 2 Tim. 2. *Eccleſiaſticus idcirco Deo ſe probet ut hinc devotus officium impleat quod ſpopondit in Dei rebus ſolitus à ſæculari negotio alienus. Non enim convenit unum duplicem habere profeſſionem.* Bernard. de conſideratione ad Eugenium Papam l. 2. c. 4. *Apoſtolis inter dicitur dominatus? Ergo tu uſurpare aude, aut dominus Apoſtolatum, aut Apoſtolus dominatum, Si utrumque ſimul habere voles perdes utrumque.* Idem, *non monſtrabunt, ubi quiſquam Apoſtolorum aliquando judex ſederit hominum aut*

divisor terminorum aut distributor terrarum : stetisse denique Apostolos judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego. But to laue the strip of this little Treatise, out of the great Ocean of the ancients, leaving *Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basilius* and *Epiphanius* of the Greek, and *Hieronymus* with *Augustine* chiefe of the Latines, I will conclude with *Gregorius* the great Bishop of Rome, who at the first entrie of the Hierarchie in the Kirk, and of the tyrannie of the Antichrist, termes *Iohn* of Constantinople his forerunner, because that hee usurped presumptuouslie aboue the rest, taking to him the stile of universall Bishop. Gregorius ad Theotistam sororem Imperatoris, de onere curæ pastoralis li. 8. Epist. 5. *Miror quod in me collatas dudum continentias vestras ex hac moderna pastoralis officii continentia distraxistis, in qua sub colore Episcopatus ad sæculum sum reductus, in qua tantis terræ curis inservio quantis me in vita Laica ne quaquam deseruisse reminiscor, alta enim quietis meæ gaudia perdidi, & intus corruens ascendisse exterius videor. Nam quis inter tot terrenas curas valeat de miraculo prædicare, quum jam mihi difficile sit saltem recolere, pressus enim in hoc honore tumultu sæcularium negotiorum ex iis mihi esse videor de quibus est scriptum, dejecisti eos dum allevarentur. Neque enim dixit, dejecisti eos postquam allevati sunt sed dum allevarentur, quia pravi quique cum temporali honore suffulti foris videntur surgere intus cadunt. Allevatio ergo ipsa ruina est, ut quia dum gloriæ falsæ subnixi sunt, à gloria vera evacuantur, hinc iterum dicit, deficientes ut fumus deficerent, fumus quippe ascendendo deficit & sese dilatando evanescit, hinc rursum scriptum est, Deus mi pone illos in rotam, rota quippe ex posteriori parte tollitur & anterioribus cadit, posteriora autem sunt nobis bona præsentis mundi quæ relinquimus, anteriora vero sunt æterna & permanentia ad quæ vocamur Paulo attestante, qui ait, quæ retro sunt oblitus in ea quæ sunt priora me extendens, mihi hæc difficilia sunt quia & valde onerosa, & quod mens sponte non recipit congruè non disponit, Ecce serenissimus Dominus imperator fieri similem Leonem jussit & quidem provisione illius vocari Leo potest, fieri autem Leo non potest.* So I end the testimonies of the Ancients with this saying of *Cyprian*, which I would we should straitly hold, and accurately defend &c. Cyprianus l. 1. epist. 8. *Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est quodcunque humano furore instituitur ut dispositio Divina violetur.* Now we shall subjoine a few of the most godly learned and approved writers of the most cleare and lightsome age of the Gospell, because there are so many just and full treatises hereanent. Ioh. Calvinus in epist. 2 ad Timoth. 2. *Semper Pastorem meminisse oportet veteris proverbii, hoc age, quod significat serio incumbendum esse peragendis sacris, ut studium ejus & intentionem nihil aliud impediat.* Pet. Martyr in Loc. com.

com. class. 4 c. 13. *Distingui oportet has functiones civilem & Ecclesiasticā, quia vtraque earum seorsum totum hominem requirit, immo vix vllus unquam repertus est, qui alterutram recte obire posset, adeo est difficilis vtraque provincia.* Theod. Bez. Ep. 79. *Sed & istud (mi Knoxe) te cæterosq; fratres velim meminisse quod jam oculis pene ipsis obversatur: sic ut Episcopi papatū pepererunt, ita Pseudoepiscopos (papatus reliquias) epicureismum terris invecturos; hanc pestem caveant, qui salvā Ecclesiam cupiunt. Et cum illam in Scotia in tempore profligaris, ne quæso illam unquam admittas, quantumvis vnitatis retinendæ specie, quæ veteres etiam optimos fefellit, blandiatur.* And of this opinion clearly & fully are the French and Helvetian Writers & Kirks. As for the Germanes, ye shal hear their judgements shortly out of one of their most godlyand learned writers. David Chytræus in Mat. 18. *Non est autem regni Christi politia sicut regnum mundanum quod constituitur & sustinetur gradibus personarum, potentia, authoritate ferendarum legum, armis & præsidijs distinctis, pœnis corporalibus, iudicijs, ordinaria successione, &c. sed est spirituale regnum, in quo non est visibile caput vni loco alligatum & ordinaria successione constitutum, ad quod tota Ecclesia alligata sit, sed vnum Ecclesiæ caput est Christus. Deinde etiamsi in Ecclesia sunt gradus personarum & donorum &c. tamen quod ad potentiam politicam imperandi; ferendi leges, cogendi, &c. attinet, omnes inter se sunt æquales & quidem arithmetica æqualitate, nec inter Episcopos quod ad dominum & potestatem attinet, quisquam alio maior est jure divino, ut Luc. 22. Reges gentium dominantur ijs, vos autem non sic. Verus igitur & solus gubernator Ecclesiæ est ipse Christus sive verbum Dei: hoc solo verbo regit Christus Ecclesiam non gradibus & potentia personarum. Ex hoc loco* Math. 18. *intelligi potest quomodo regis Pontificum & Episcoporum dominatio cum Evangelio congruat.*

Chap. IIII.

That such a Bishoprie is against the doctrine of the Kirk of Scotland preached these 46 yeares.

THE doctrine that the Preachers of Scotland haue been teaching so many yeares since the first reformation, yea since the first light of the Gospell brake forth in this realme, was dirrcted against all corruptions and abuses of the Roman Antichrist, and adulterous kirk of Rome. But so it is that the Bishoprie is one of the greatest errours and corruptions thereof, and have no arguments of Scripture, Fathers, Councells nor reason, but the selfe same that the Papists use. For probation whereof read Bellarmine the Archlesuit, *quæst. de capite ecclesiæ & de membris*, and conferre his

arguments for the Pope and his Hierarchie, with Doctor Whitgifts against M. Cartwright, and sicklike the rest that write on that head. Secondly, let the auditors yet living of these notable Preachers of the Kirk of Scotland, glorifie God in this matter, and cease not as they love the honour of Christ, ad weale of his kirk, so long as they are able to speak, to give an evident and full testimonie, what they have heard of *M. Knoxe, M. Craig, M. Willockes, M. Goodman, M. Lawson, M. Row, M. Fergusone, M. Arbuthnet, M. Rollock, M. Durie, M. Davidsone, M. Tent*, and others most godly, sincere, and learned men, who all joyned with their continuall powerfull doctrine from Pulpit, their travels; yea and sufferings, in dinging against that Popish corruption of Bishops, till it was all utterly purged and expelled forth of the kirk. and who now resting from their labours, yea triumphing in the heavens, have left the true discipline and government of the kirk and kingdome of Iesus Christ, well and firmly established and setled within our Kirk; the comfortable effect whereof hath been viuely and sincerely enioyed unto these late dayes. And praised be the name of our God and Christ, there wants not yet successors both to their place and doctrine, able both by preaching and penning to maintaine, yea by his grace not onely by imprisonment, povertie, contempt and traducing of the world, but by their blood to seale up the truth of the same And last, the very mouthes of these now named Bishops, have been seen and heard preach and professe this veritie; yet dare they preach or professe otherwise under pain of Apostasie. How be it now craftily holding both court and kirk in hand, they are like so to proceed, that the part of *Demas* will plainly kythe in the Kirk.

Chap. V.

That this Bishopric is against the confession of faith called the Kings Maiesties confession, sworne and subscrived at two severs times, viz. in anno 1581 when it was first published; and againe anno 1590. published with a generall band for the maintenance of true religion, and his Maiesties estate and person; by his Maiestie, his Queen and houshold, and all estates of the Realme. &c.

THE words of that confession for this purpose are these: *We abhorre and detest all contrary religion and doctrine, chiefly all kind of Papistrie in generall and particular, even as they are now damned and*

and confuted by the word of God and kirk of Scotland; and in speciall, the Popes Worldly monarchy and Wicked Hierarchie, his crossing, annointing, &c. And finally, we detest all his pelf rites, signes and traditions, brought into the kirk without or against the Word of God and doctrine of this true reformed kirk, to the which We ioyne our selves willingly in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same in Christ our head: Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that We shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the dayes of our lives, under the paines contained in the Law, and danger both of body and soule in the day of Gods fearfull judgements. And after a few lines, *We therefore willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie and of double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest, and call the searcher of all hearts to witnesse, that our mindes and hearts doe fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath and subscription: So that we are not moved for any Worldly respect, but are perswaded onely in our consciences, through the knowledge and loue of Gods true Religion, printed in our hearts by the holy Spirit, as We shall answer to him in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.* Then if so be that the setting up of Bishops will throw down the discipline of our Kirk, or if that office hath any thing to do with these corruptions of Papistrie & Antichristian hierarchy: The King our Soveraigne, his most excellent and Christian Majestie, and his Highnesse most ancient, religious & noble Estates of Parlament, if there were no other reason but this one, would not for all the world fall under the danger of so horrible a perjurie against God to set up Bishops again; yea, and if it were no more but respect of civil honesty, honor & estimation before the world, they would not be inferiour to *Herod* in reteiving the religion of an oath and great name of God interponed; namely this Confession of faith being put in print twise within the realme by speciall command and priviledge, & translated in all vulgar languages throghout Europe, yea and at his Maiesties coronation in England, put in Latine, and published anew againe by that common post of the world in our age *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*. But so it is, as all men know, that the discipline and government of the kirk exercised by Presbyteries, and by Bishops, are so opposed one to another, that when the one is set up, the other must down of force. Therefore the subscrivers and swearers of the former confession, if they should (as God forbid) be about to set up Bishops and Episcopall government, they could not eschew the crime of horrible perjurie, execrable Apostasie, and most cursed repairing again of Iericho, from the which the Lord preserve his most excellent Maiesty, and honourable Estates of this present parliament. And if any man

doubteth

doubteth what was the discipline of the kirk of Scotland at the first subscriving and swearing of that confession, let them seek the Register of the generall Assemblie holden at Glasgow, to the which it was presented, together with a platforme of the whole Presbyteries to be established throughout the Realme by the Laird of Capinton cõmissioner for his maiestie to the sayd assemblie in the yeare of God 1581, they shal find that the Bishopries were wholly abolished in the assemblie holden at Dundie the yeare immediatly preceeding. So that without al questiõ, it is meant of the discipline of the kirk exercised by Presbyteries, Synods, and generall Assemblies directly opponed to the corruption and tyranny of Bishops, as vvas clearly defined and ratified in Parliament. After the second subscriving anew againe of the sayd confession in the yeare 1592. In end, seeing these same men, who now would be Bishops, haue once or twice sworne and subscrived this confession, it marvels me vvith what forehead they can be about a purpose so quite contrary thereto.

Chap. VI.

That this office of Bishoprie is against the constitutions of the Kirk of Scotland in her Assemblies.

MAister *Knox* following the light of holy Scripture, and the advice of *Theodor Beza*, as he had preached continually, so immediatly before his departure, he wrote to the generall Assemblie convened at Striveling in the yeare 1571 in these words: *Vnfaithfull and traytors to the flockes shall yee bee before the Lord Iesus, if that vvith your consent directly or indirectly yee suffer unworthy men to be thrust in within the ministerie of the Kirke under vvhat pretence that ever it be. Remember the Iudge before whom yee must make an accounte, and resist that tyrannie, as yee vvould avoyd hells fire.* And this letter is registrat in the acts of the sayd Assembly. In the generall Assemblie convened at Edinburgh in March 1572, sess. 7. M. *Iohn Spottiswood* superintendent of Lawthiane, gaue in this article. *It is neither agreeable to the Word of God, nor practise of the primitiue Kirke, that the spirituall administration of the word and sacraments, and the ministration of the civill and criminal Iustice should be so confounded, that one person may occupie both the cures.* Wherfore the whol Assem. refused the Earle of Morton then Regent his desire, to make ministers sessioners in the colledge of Iustice. From that assembly unto the assembly holden at Dundie Iuly 1580, the corruption of the Bishoprie vvas more and more espied, unto the time the vvhole Assem. being ripely advised, and fully resolved all

in one voyce yeelded as followeth: *Forasmuch as the office of a Bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this realme, hath no Warrant, authoritie nor ground in the Word of God; but is brought in by the folly and corruption of mans invention, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God. The Whole assembly of the Kirk in one voyce after libertie given to all men to reason in the matter, none opponing himselfe in defending the said pretended office, Findes and declares the same pretended office, used and tearmed as is above said, unlawfull in it selfe, as having neither fundament, ground nor Warrant in the scriptures of God: and ordaines that all such persons as bruikes or shall bruike hereafter the said office, shall bee charged simply to demit, quyt, and leave off the same, as an office Whereunto they are not called by God. And sicklike to desist and ceasse from all preaching of the Word, ministration of the sacraments, or using any Way the office of Pastors, Which they receive de novo admission from the generall Assembly, under the paine of excommunication to bee used against them, Wherein if they be found disobedient, or contravene this act in any poynt, the sentence of excommunication after due admonitions to be execute against them.* The yeare following 1581 a forme of establishing Presbyteries throughout all the shires of the Realm were sent from his Maiestie to the generall assembly conveneed at Glasgow, and commissioners both from his Maiesty and the generall assembly nominate and ordained to plant Presbyteries in all parts convenient. The which being done, not onely ceased all ruling of bishops, but also in the generall assembly at Edinburgh in August 1590 all commissioners from generall assemblies appointed for visitation of Provinces, were ordained to cease, where presbyteries were planted, to root out all danger of tyranny and authoritie of sole government within the Kirk: and that because they perceived that sort of sole government to be against the word of God, and that Iesus Christ had ordained his kirk to bee ruled by the common care and councell of his lawfully called Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons in their meetings and assemblies. And where some, that knowes not, may think that these generall assemblies at which the kings maiestie was present, holden since the 7 of December 1590, hath altered these constitutions, there is no such thing. Therefore leaving off, how matters proceeded since that time, as known to the whole Realme, I will onely set downe out of the Register of the Kirk what was done.

The generall assembly holden at Dundie March 1597, Sess. 11. *The generall Assem. votes findes and concludes that it is necessary and expedient for the weale of the kirk, that the ministers as the third estate of the Realme in name of the kirk, have vote in Parliament.* Sess. 12. *Concerning the number of the Ministers that should have vote in Parliament in name of the kirk, it Was likewise concluded and thought expedient, that*

as many of them as should bee chosen for the vote in Parliament, as were wont of old in time of the Papisticall kirk to be Bishops, Abbots and Priors, that had the like libertie, viz. to the number of fiftie one or thereby. Item, after reasoning it was voted and concluded, that the election of such of the ministerie, as should haue vote in parliamēt, ought to be of a mixed qualitie, and appertaines partly to his maiestie, and partly to the kirk. In the generall assemblie at Montrose 1600 in March. sess. 6. Concerning the manner of choosing of him that shall haue vote in parliament in name of the Kirk, it is condescended upon, that he shall be first recommended by the kirke to his Maiestie, and that the Kirk shall nominate six for every place that hath need to be filled, of whom his Ma. shall choose one whom he best likes, and his Ma. promises oblishes and binds himselfe to choose no other but one of that number. And in case his Ma. refuse the whole upon a just reason of insufficiencie, or greater sufficiencie of others that are not recommended; the Assembly shall make a new recommendation of men according to the first number, of the which one by his Ma. shall be chosen without any further refusal, or new nomination. And he that shall be chosen by his Ma. shall be admitted by the Synods. It is concluded that the generall assemblie shal haue the nomination or recommendation of him, that in name of the Kirk shall vote in parliament, who shall take the advice of the Synods and Presbyteries thereanent directed from them in writ. And the Synods shall have libertie to nominate, as well within the Province as without, providing that if there bee a man within the Province meet for the place cæteris paribus, hee bee preferred to any other. Anent his rent, it is advised with one consent, that the Kirk being planted sufficiently, the colledges and schooles already erected, not prejudged, that the King shall provide him to all the rest that may be obtained of that benefice, where he is preferred.

The Cautions.

AS to the cautions to keep him that shall have vote in parliament from corruption, they be these following.

1 That hee presume not at any time to propone at Parliament, Councell, or Convention, any thing in name of the kirk, without an expresse warrant and direction of the kirk, under the paine of deposition from his office. Neither shall hee consent or keepe silence in any of the sayd conventions, to any thing that may be preiudiciall to the Heads and libertie of the kirk under the sayd paine.

2 Hee shall bee bound at every generall Assembly, to giue an accompt anent the discharge of his commission, since the assembly going before, and shall submit himselfe to their censure, and stand to their determination whatsoever, without appellation, and shall seeke and obtaine ratification of his doings at the sayd Assembly under the paine of infamie and excommunication.

3 He

3 He shall content himselfe with that part of the benefice, which shall be given to him by his maiesty for his living, not hurting nor prejudging the rest of the ministers of the kirk within his benefice planted, or to be planted, or any other minister of the country whatsoever, and this clause to be insert in his provision.

4 He shall not dilapidate in any way, neither set nor make disposition thereof without the speciall advice and consent of his Maiesty and generall assembly. And for the greater warrant thereof, he shall interdict himselfe not to dilapidate his benefice, nor consent to dilapidation thereof made by others, to the generall assembly, and shall be content that inhibitions bee raised on him to that effect.

5 He shall be bound faithfully to attend upon his own particular congregation, where he shall be minister in all the poynts of a Pastor, and thereanent shall be subject to the triall and censure of his own Presbyterie and Provinciall assemblie, as any other minister that beares not commission.

6 In the administration of discipline, collation of benefices, visitation and all other poynts of Ecclesiastical government, he shall neither usurp nor acclaime to himselfe any power or iurisdiction, further then any other of the rest of his brethren, except he be imployed by his brother, under the paine of deprivation. And in case hee usurpe any part of the Ecclesiasticall government, and the Presbyteries, Synodall or generall Assemblies oppone and make any impediment thereto, whatsoever shee do after that impediment to be null ipso facto without any declaratorie.

7 In Presbyteries, provinciall and generall Assemblies, hee shall behave himselfe in all things, and be subiect to their censuring, as any of the brethren of the Presbyterie.

8 At his admission to his office of commissionar in those and no other poynts necessarie, he shall sweare to subscrive and fulfill under the penalties foresayd, and otherwise not to be admitted.

9 And in case he be deposed by the generall Assembly, Synod or Presbyterie from his office of the ministery, he shall also tyne his vote in Parliament ipso facto, and his benefice shall vaike.

And further caution to be made, as the kirk pleases and findes occasion anent his name that for the kirk should vote in parliament it is advised by uniforme consent of the whole brethren that he shall bee called commissionar of such a place.

It is also statute and ordained, that none of them that shall have vote in Parliament, shall come as commissioners to any generall Assembly, nor have vote in the same in any time comming, except he be authorized with a commission from his own presbyterie to that effect.

It is moreover found by the Assembly, that corruption ambition shall bee a sufficient cause of deprivation of him, that shall have vote in parliament.

Sess. 8. *The generall Assembly having reasoned at length the question anent his commission, Who shall vote in Parliament, Whether he should endure for his life time, except some crime or offence intervene, or for a shorter time at the pleasure of the Kirk, Findes and declares that he shall* annuatim *giue accompt of his commission obtained from the Assemblie and lay down the same at their feet to be continued or altered therefrom by his Majestie and the Assemblie, as the Assem. With consent of his Maj. shall think expedient to the Deale of the Kirke. Whose Whole conclusions being read in audience of the Whole assembly, and they being ripely advised therewith, ratified, allowed and approved the same, and thought expedient that the said Cautions, together With such others as shalbe concluded upon by the Assemblie, be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of vote in Parliament to the Kirk as most necessarie and substantiall parts of the same.*

Then briefly to assume and conclude, but so it is that their new L. B. neither in the entrie to their office, nor yet in their behaviour therein, hithertohaue kept one jot of these constitutions and cautions, but hath broken all; therefore such roomes and offices should not be confirmed to them in this present Parliament.

Chap. VII.

That the Office of Bishoprie is against the lawes of this Realme.

OVr Soveraigne, the Kings most excellent Majestie came into the world, and entered to his Kingdome of this Realme, with the cleare light of the Gospell, and the establishing of a reformed Kirk, & therfore as a most godly and Christian Prince hath in his all Parliaments confirmed, ratified and approved the freedome and libertie of the true Kirk of God, and religion publickly professed within his Majestie Realme, as in his first Parliament holden by his Majesties good Regent the Earle of Murray. Likewise in his Highnesse second, holden by his grandfather the Earl of Lennox; the same is ratified in the first Act of his first Parliament holden after the taking of the governement in his Highnesse own person. Also in the first of his sixt Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 20 of October 1579. *Our Soveraigne Lord With advice and consent of his three Estates, and Whole bodie of this present Parliament ratifies & approues all and Whatsoever Acts & Statutes made of before by his Highnes, With advice of his Regents in his own reigne, or his Predecessors, anent the libertie and freedom of the true Kirk of God and religion now presently professed Within this realme, and specially &c.*

The

The second act of the same sixt Parliament is expresly for the jurisdiction of the Kirk which is there said to consist & stand in the preaching of Iesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the holy Sacraments; and declares that there is no other face of a Kirk, nor other face of Religion, then is presently by the favour of God established within this realme. And that there be no other Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall acknowledged within this Realm other then that which is & shal be within the same kirk, or that which flowes there from concerning the premisses. And in his Majesties seventh Parliament at Edinburgh, Octobers 1581. In the first Act there is a generall ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk of God, and confirmation of all the Actes and Lawes made to that effect before, by particulat rehearsall and catalogue, and although the text, *The ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk of God and religion*, and anent the Iurisdiction of the Kirk of God twice. And after the Kings perfect age of 21 yeares in the eleventh Parliament, At Edinburgh July 1587, there is a cleare and full ratification of all Lawes made anent the libertie of the Kirk.

Now if any will say, what is all these Actes against the Bishops? I say, direct: for whatsoever is for the Ministers, Presbyters and Assemblies, is against the Bishops: But so it is that all these Acts are for the, because as we have shown, the doctrine and constitutions of the Ministers & Assemblies, hath been ever since the reformation, against the corruption of Bishops, and that is the freedom, libertie and discipline of the Kirk which is confirmed, for verification whereof we alledge first the Confession of faith confirmed by Parliament and registred among the Actes thereof, wherein the 19 Article anent the notes of the true Kirk, ye have last *Ecclesiasticall Discipline uprightly ministred as Gods word prescribed*: But so it is, that our of the Word the doctrine of the Ministers hath been against the Bishops, as also the discipline set down in the Generall Assemblies. Next that the first Act of his Majesties Acts of Parliament. *Our soveraigne Lord with advice of his three estates and whole bodie of this present Parliament, hath declared and declares the Ministers of the blessed Evangell of Iesus Christ, whom God of his mercie hath now raised up to be the true and holy Kirk.* Thirdly, that golden Act which clearely crownes and formally concludes the cause, *viz.* the first Act of the 12 Parliament of King *James* the 6. At Edinburgh Iunii 1592 intitulate, *Ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk, of generall and synodall Assemblies of the Presbyteries of Discipline*, which speakes this plainly in the end. *Item our Soveraigne Lord and Estates in Parliament foresaid abrogates, cassis and annullet the Act of Parliament made in anno 1584. granting commission to B. and other Iudges competent in Ecclesi-*

asticall causes to receiue his Highnesse presentation to Benefices, and giue collation thereupon, and to put order in all causes Ecclesiasticall, which his Majestie and Estates foresaid declares to be expired in it selfe, and to be null in time comming, and of none auaile, force nor effect. And therfore ordaines all presentations of Benefices to be direct to particular Presbyteries in all time comming, with full power to giue collation thereupon, and to put order to all manners and causes Ecclesiastical within the bounds according to the discipline of the Kirk. And finally the act of annexation of the temporalitie of the benefices to the crown of necessitie, demolishes and beates down all the Bishops, *Iam. 6 Parl. 13 cap. 29.*

Chap. VIII.

That they are against the honour of God and his Christ.

THe standing for the maintenance of the kingdome of God, and, whom hee hath anointed his King upon his holy mountaine, the Lord Iesus Christ, is to their honour; like as to slide from it and leaue it, to follow after the world, is against the honour of God and Christ. To hear the word of God and to do it, is the special honouring of God, & of that great Pastor of the sheep the Lord Iesus Christ: As by the cõtrary the rejecting of his word, and casting it off behind their back is his dishonour. And finally to build & plant with God is to honour him, so to cast down & root out that, which by the Ministerie of his notable servants he hath builded and planted is to his high dishonor: But so it is, as I haue verified & shown, that Bishopricks makes men to slide away from the Kingdome of Christ, to leaue it, and follow the world, to reject his word and cast it behind their back: And finally to cast down and root out, that which Christs faithfull servants hath bigged and planted, even that sincerity of the Gospell & freedom of the Kirk of Christ brought to such perfection, and so well established, & left unto us by them: and so with the Scribes and Pharises to seek the glory of men rather then of God, & to seek honor one of another, and not to honour Christ nor to seek to be acceptable unto him.

And is it not, alas, a horrible dishonouring of God, and the preaching of his blessed veritie & vvord, to flatter men & annoint their filthie flesh with earthly honor, wealth & sensualitie, to make Christs holy Ministers to be loathed, sclandered and evil spoken of. And as the Lord rebuked *Eli* the Priest & his sons, vvhose sinnes vvere great before the Lord, in making men to abhorre the Lords Ministers and offerings: Therfore the Lord threatned them by *Samuel* saying: *Wherfore haue ye kicked against my sacrifice & my offrings which I commanded in my tabernacle, and honors thy children about me,*

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to make your selfe fat of the first fruits of all the offerings of my people Israel, Therefore the Lord God of Israel saith, I said thy house and the house of thy fathers should walke before me for ever: But now the Lord saith it shall not be so; for they that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be despised. And now, O yee Priests, cryed Malachie, this commandement is for you, if ye will not heare it nor consider it in your heart to give glorie unto my name, I will even send a curse upon you, and will curse your blessings; yea, I have cursed them already, because ye doe not consider it in your hearts. Behold I will corrupt your seed, and cast dung upon your faces, even the dung of your solemne feasts, and ye shall be like unto it: and yee shall know that I have sent this commandement unto you, that my covenant which I have made with Levi, might stand, saith the Lord of hosts. My covenant was with him of life and peace and I gave them to him that he might feare me, and he feared me, and was afraid before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth, and iniquitie was not found in his lippes: he walked with me in peace and equitie, and did turne many away from iniquitie. For the Priests lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are gone out of the way, ye have caused many to fall by the Law, ye have broken the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore I have also made you to be despised and vile before all the people, because yee keep not my wayes.

Chap. IX.

That this Bishopric is against the honour and weale of the Kings Majestie.

IS it not the Kings vveale & honour to honour God, to loue, feare & obey him, to be wise and learned, to serue God in feare, and reioice in trembling, to kisse the Son lest he be angry: to be a nurse-father to the Kirk, to be an avenger of all breakers of Gods holy law and misorders against his manifest word and truth: And in a vvord to raign in Christ, by Christ, and vvith Christ, & against the sinne that drawes him to the contrarie? Is it not the weale and honour of his Maj. to hold himselfe in the favour of God, & that reverent loue & good estimation of all that feares God unfeighedly, & loues the Lord Iesus Christ, by holding fast that profession of the sincerity of the Gospell, in doctrine & discipline, wherof his H. & Kingdome in this Iland namely, hath found comfort and profit, that all the godly this day triumphes in, all the vvicked envie, Europe is astonished with admiration, at that union of these Kingdomes under one God and Christ, one King, one Faith, one Law, and under his Majestie advanced and highly lifted up throne, sat aboue all Kings Throns in Christendom, in this respect & for this cause, namely that his Highnes was borne & entred to reign at the light and sincerite of the Gospel; hath reigned so long, so happily, so peaceable with the same; and he and his posterity in hope and

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good appearance holding fast the same to reigne most blessedly even to that appearance of Christ the King of Kings from the heavens. Is it not his Majesties weale and honour to stand fast to that confession of faith sworne and subscrived by his Highnesse, for good example to his houshold, estates and all his subjects, extant in all languages, affixed as it were on the most high pillar in the great Theater of Europe, testifying and proclaiming to all, his Majesties pietie, sinceritie and zeale to the Gospell of Christ and his Kingdome, against all corruption and thraldome of the Antichrist of Rome? And against his weale and honour that leades him to the contrarie? Is it not the weale and honour of his Royall Majestie, to haue all the hearts of the most sincere Protestants and professors of the holy Evangell; not onely throughout great Brittaine, but also France, Germanie, Switzerland and Sweden, to be as it were the heart of one man, to ware all their bloud for his Majesties safetie in person, encrease in honour, and stabilitie in estate; by holding fast unaltered or mixe[d] the sincere simplicitie of the Gospell, and doctrine, sacrame[nts] and discipline, which they haue so long professed with his [Ma]jestie, and against the which what cursed force or businesse [has] ever able to prevaile unto this houre? And finally, is it no[t] Majesties weale and honour to be safe and free from the falsh[ood] flatterie and crueltie of ambitious avarice, which hath broug[ht] many notable Emperours, Kings and Princes to tragicall en[ds] corrupted sincere Kirkes, and overthrowne flourishing Comme[n] wealthes? And verily this venome and poyson of humane Bi[sh]ops, degenerating into Satanicall, hath filled the Ecclesiastical & civill histories full of such effects, the smallest haire of root and pickle of seed is therefore to be fanned away and plucked out of all Kirkes, Kingdomes and Common-wealthes. This the godly wisedome, quicknesse of wit, prudence and sagacitie of the King, who is as an Angell of God, can well marke, and take up a farre, both to beware of it where he hath found it, and can not well amend it, and not to permit to creep into the field so carefully and cleane purged therefrom. Thus passing over the impairing of the Kings patrimonie, and many moe things against his Highnesse weale and honour, for brevities sake I end this point, not doubting but his Majestie is alwaies mindfull of that declaration, so clearely, godly and eloquently penned & subscribed by his Highnesse own hands, at his Majesties Parliament holden at Linlithgow in December 1585. The conclusion whereof is most worthie of remembrance at this time, for that by forgerting that, these who seek Episcopall dignitie seekes the hurt and dishonour of his most renowmed Majestie. *Then shortly to end this my decla-*

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vation, I mind not to cut away any libertie granted by God to his Kirk, I acclame not my selfe to be judge of doctrine in Religion, salvation, heresies or true interpretation of Scripture &c. And in end, *My intention is not to meddle with excommunication, neither acclame I to my selfe or my heires power in any thing that is meer Ecclesiasticall, neither to meddle in any that Gods Word hath simply devolved in the hands of the Kirk. And to conclude I confesse and acknowledge Christ Iesus to be Head and Lawgiver to the same. And whatsoever persons doe attribute to themselves as head of the Kirk and not as members, to suspend or alter any thing that the Word of God hath onely remitted to his Kirk; that man I say commits manifest idolatrie, and sinnes against the Father in not trusting the Words of his Son; against the Sonne in not obeying him, and in taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience.* Certainly thus honouring God and Iesus Christ his Highnes shall be well and honourable, according to [illegible] promise, *I will honour him that honours me.*

CHAP. X.

[illegible]ishoprie is against the honour and weale of the

[illegible]in hath stood thy honor and weale o Scotland these [illegible]eares and aboue? Was it not, in the judgement of all [illegible]judgeth rightly, in the sincerity of the Gospel & free- [illegible]us Christs Kingdom established so notably within thee [illegible]mall bloud and trouble? Since that Gospel of peace came [illegible]n thee, thou hast had no forraine wars, and all commotions within thy selfe haue beene easily setled, God being in the midst of thee, & bringing evident judgements upon all that lifted their head, or moued their tongue against his Kirk. And shalt thou become so fooliſh and bewitched, as not to hold fast that verity, having had Christ so clearly painted forth before thy eyes as if thou with the same had seene him crucified? Shalt thou with those fooliſh Galatians begin in the spirit & end in the flesh? Wilt thou follow them, of whom the Apostle weeping doth write, *that they are enemies to the crosse, whose end is destruction or damnation, whose God is their belly, whose glorie is shame*, earthly minded men who seekes not the glory of Christ, nor safety of the soules of thy people, but to be thy guiders, and misguid thee; to be thy conductors & seduce thee, to make thee to sinne against God after the manner of the golden Calues at Dan and Bethel, that so the Lord may be incensed and cast thee away from his face? They seeke glorie amongst men and one of another, & so neither can beleeue and trust in Christ themselues?

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Chap. X.

That this Bishoprie is against the honour and weale of the Realme.

WHerein hath stood thy honor and weale o Scotland these 46 yeares and aboue? Was it not, in the judgement of all that judgeth rightly, in the sincerity of the Gospel & freedom of Iesus Christs Kingdom established so notably within thee with so small bloud and trouble? Since that Gospel of peace came within thee, thou hast had no forraine wars, and all commotions within thy selfe haue beene easily settled, God being in the midst of thee, & bringing evident judgments upon all that lifted their head, or moued their tongue against his Kirk. And shalt thou become so foolish and bewitched, as not to hold fast that verity, having had Christ so clearly painted forth before thy eyes, as if thou with the same had seene him crucified? Shalt thou with those foolish Galatians begin in the spirit & end in the flesh? Wilt thou follow them, of whom the Apostle weeping doth write, *that they are enemies to the crosse, whose end is destruction or damnation, whose God is their belly, whose glorie is shame*, earthly minded men who seekes not the glory of Christ, nor safety of the soules of thy people, but to be thy guiders, and misguid thee; to be thy conductors & seduce thee, to make thee to sinne against God after the manner of the golden Calues at Dan and Bethel, that so the Lord may be incensed and cast thee away from his face? They seeke glorie amongst men and one of another, & so neither can beleeue and trust in Christ them-

selues, nor make thee doe it and be safe. Surely for wealth and honour worldly thou was never comparable to other nations, but the Evangell so planted in thee was that crown of thy glorie, that decored thy head, and set it up aboue all Realmes and Kingdomes upon the face of the earth. Hearken, dear mother, what the Lord said unto his people Israel of old, & take it now to be spoken unto thee. Deut. 4. *Aske from the times of old that haue been before thee, euen from that day that God created man vpon the earth frō the one end of the heauen unto the other, if there was done such a thing as this is, or if there hath been heard like of it. If any God hath essayed to come & take unto him a nation out of the midst of another nation, with proofes and signes and wonders, with mar-strong hand & stretched out arme; finally with most great terrours according to all that Iehovah hath done for you, euen your* 2 Sam. 7. 23. 24. *God to bring you out of the land of Egypt. What nation is like thy people Israel in all the earth, which for to be a people vnto to redeem, and hath gone to get himselfe a name, and to worke these great things and mightie, reverently to be admired, expelling from the face of thy people whom thou redeemed to thee out of Egypt the Nations and their Gods: for thou hast established thy people Israel that it may be a people unto thee for ever, and thou Iehovah their God. Who telleth his word to Iacob, his Statutes and* Psal. 147. *Lawes to Israel, he hath not done so to any nation; therefore they know not these Lawes, Praise yee the Lord.* Was not Papistrie thy Egypt, & Scotland, and did not the Lord deliver thee out of it, and lafeing thee from that tyrannie and thraldome brought thee unto a pleasant Canaan of his Gospell to serue him in spirit and truth: and that in such a manner and forme, as the like was never heard nor seene? And no lesse miraculously hath he made thee to dwel therin so long, so safely, so freely: and shalt thou then goe and make to thee other Captaines by *Moses* and *Aaron*, yea contemning them thy lawfull Priests & Levites, to lead thee back again into Egypt? God forbid, But so it is (deere natiue country) your Seers see, and your Watchmen giues you a faithfull warning, crying to you, that the Episcopall Hierarchie is verie Papistrie, and spirituall Egypt. Howbeit by the pollicie of men, otherwaies buskit, attired and dressed to take the fooliish and simple withall. It is no other thing in the substance thereof, taken from the last and grossest dung of Antichrist, making the Kingdome of Christ to be of this world, turning the spirituall worshipping of God in outward toyes and ceremonies, bringing the pompe of the world into the simple and humble Kirk; yea corrupting the fountaines of the waters of life, and empoysoning the food of the soules to work dangerous sicknesses and deadly diseases amongst thy sonnes and daughters. The whole Pulpits hath sounded unto you so many years, and yet continues to sound where they are not emptied or terrified by their tyrannie.

tyrannie. Admitting that Bishoprie againe, lost is your honour, wracked is your welfare, and gone is your grace and garland of heavenly and spirituall glorie for ever. Forget not the first essay of their good service in Parliament to God, the Kirk and Commonwealth, in giving their votes and suffrages to seventeen erections of the Prelacies and livings of the Kirk in temporall Lordships to attaine thirteen rounged and dilapidate Bishoprickes, as was reported and complained upon to the Kings Majestie and his Councell at Hampton Court, 1606.

Chap. XI.

That Bishoprie is against the constitution and setled estate of the Kirk and Kingdom, and so most dangerous.

It is an Axiom approved in Experience and Policie. *Quod omnis mutatio Reipub. est periculosa etiamsi in melius*, how much more *in deterius*. The reason then holdeth thus. All dangerous things for the estate and common-wealth are to bee eschewed: But change is dangerous, namely from such an estate, which is conforme to the word of God, good Lawes and Constitutions, the judgement of the holiest and best learned, ancient and moderne, the best estate of the Primitiue Kirk, and best reformed Kirkes from corruption of Papistrie, to an estate plaine contrarie, and so most perverse and pernicious. For let Lawyers and Politiques reason and judge the civill part for the estate of the Kingdome, we dare boldly conclude, as we haue evidently proved, that it is pernicious for the Kirk of Iesus Christ: And that which is pernicious thereto can never stand with the good estate of a Christian Kingdome and godly Common-wealth. It is so cleare in the Histories, and miserable experience of these last Ages of the world that it needs no probation, being acknowledged and affirmed by all Protestants, that the Popish Hierarchie and usurpation of both the swords, hath brought the Romane Empire, and all Kingdomes and Commonwealths in Europe that haue not resisted the same, to abominable and most filthie servitude and slaverie, in their goods, bodies & soules. And those who haue cast off the yoke of that bondage, and resisted thereunto haue been involved in bloudie battels, and had great fear & adoe to keep them safe from the most craftie and cruel practises of that pestilent throne of kirk ambition & avarice. And shal the dregs, or rather sprowtings thereof be brought in again into Scotland? Shall these siplings & sprowtings be taken up and set with guiding again in the Lords vineyard

to grovv up to seed, to shake and overgrovv the same? Or shall these dregges be cast in a Limbique, and such Aquavitie to be dravvn thereof as vvill make the braines of all giddie that tasts thereof? Shall these Cockatrice egges be hatched in our Kingdome of nevv, vvhereof all Kings, Kingdomes and Estates that haue eaten therof are dead in sin, and spirituall and temporall slaverie? And such as haue been sparked therevvith doe cry as if they vvere stung vvith a viper? The Lord safe our kirk, kingdom and King from such sparkes.

We haue p oduced before, the Lavves of our Kingdome, the constitutions of our Kirk, the doctrine and confession thereof, vvhereunto all the members both of Kirk and Commonvveale, & Kingdome haue solemnly svvorn and subscrived, and vvhich hath been professed, established, and stood in our Kirk and Kingdom almost novv an vvhole Iubile of yeares. To all the vvhich this Bishoprie, this usurpation of both Offices Civill & Ecclesiasticall the temporall Lordship, the earthly dominion, the worldly vain pomp and the most dangerous invasion of governing both court & kirk is most repugnant. And yet notwithstanding the walles of our Troy, which were builded by the finger of our God, must be demolished, & we with our own hands hail in that devilish Grecian horse within the Lords Citie, to set it all on fire. O mad folly! ô terrible Judgement for the contempt of rhe Gospell and fruitlesse abuse of the freedome thereof, so long, so liberally and so gloriously bestowed on Scotland!

Chap. XII.

This Bishoprie is against the honour and weale of the Noble Estates of Parliament.

THe honour and weale of the Noble Estates of Parliament, namely since the light of the Gospell shined in our dark nation, vvas to haue the Kirk of God and libertie of this most ancient Kingdome in speciall carefull regard, to make good lawes in favour of the same, and to see them haue life and vigor by due execution. And for that effect to haue a solemne and free advice and vote, without the vvhich nothing should passe and be effectuall by any convoy, plot or practise whatsoever. But set mee up these Bishops once (called long since the Princes Ledhorse) thing if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly and pernitious to Kirk and Realme, If they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care and endevour of the King (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renoumed Soveragine (for as to the best hath oftentimes succeeded

ſucceeded the worſt) they ſhall be caried through by his Biſhops ſet up and entertained by him for that effect, and the reſt of the eſtates not onely be indeed as cyphers, but alſo beare the blame thereof to their great evill and diſhonour. And if one will aske how ſhall theſe Biſhops be more ſubiect to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince, then the reſt of the eſtates. The anſwer and reaſon is, becauſe they haue their Lordſhip and living, their honour, eſtimation, profit and commoditie of the King by others. The King may ſet them vp, and caſt them downe, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleaſure. And therefore they muſt bee at his direction to doe what liketh him, and in a word, he may doe with them by law, becauſe they are ſet vp againſt law: but with other eſtates hee cannot doe ſo, they having either heritable ſtanding in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then but a commiſſion from the eſtate that ſend them, as from the Burgeſſes or Barones. Againe, if one would ſay, Howbeit the Biſhops and all the ſpirituall eſtate were corrupted, yet there is two or three eſtates beſide? Wee anſwer firſt, there is a great number of the other eſtates, whereof it is eaſie to make choyce of ſome, that for certaine commoditie and advancement of their ſtate and matters, may be eaſily corrupted. Next, deprave me once the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, which hath the gift of knowledge & learning by others, and are ſuppoſed, becauſe they ſhould bee of beſt conſcience, that ſo they are, the reſt will eaſily bee miſcarried. And that ſo much the more, that the officiars of eſtate, Lords of Seſſion, Iudges, Lawyers that haue their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the courts affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Theſaurer, Preſident, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that theſe new Prelats of the Kirk as convetous and ambitious as ever they were of old, inſinuating themſelues by flatterie and obſequence in the Princes favour, attaine to the bearing of all theſe offices of eſtate and crowne, and to the exerciſing thereof, as craftily, avaritiouſly, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papiſticall Prelates did. For as the holieſt, beſt and wiſeſt Angels of light, being depraved, became moſt wicked, craftie and cruell Divells, ſo the learnedeſt and beſt paſtor perverted and poyſoned by that old ſerpent with avarice and ambition, becomes the falſeſt, worſt, and moſt cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved. A further conſideration of this poynt alſo we leaue to the Lawyers, Politiques, and Stateſmen.

CHAP.

Chap. XIII.

That this Bishoprie is against the weale of all Scottismen in soule body and goods.

HOwbeit that this be cleare enough of all that haue been spoken in the chapters preceding, yet particularizing the same, we will make it more cleare. Wee call them good Scottishmen, that have a true sence of the honour of God, love of their Christ, care of the sinceritie of the Gospell, and libertie of his Kirke, a feeling of the need of their soules, a hunger and thirst for righteousnesse, and that word of life which is the food therof, and therewithall a loue of their natiue countrey, of the freedome and weale of the same. Now this Bishoprie shall either take away all true religion and sinceritie of the Gospell, or then the fruitfull vse thereof for the feeding and comfort of soules. For if there arise a Popish or prophane Prince, they must alter with him, and please and obey him, or tyne their places, their honours, their riches and pleasures, the which they will not doe, because they have already given their consciences, honestie, truth, and credit before God and man, as a price for these things of the world. And put case true religion stand, what care will they have of feeding of soules, who haue sold their owne for the world. All their care and travell must bee to keep their Court, please the King, acquire and conserve more plentie of goods, honour and pleasures. And they being thus set and given, their inferiour ministers for the most part will follow their fashions, so there shall bee nothing amongst men but atheisme, licentiousnesse and profanitie. For as concerning discipline, it being put into the hands of Bishops, they will make merchandise of it, or let the reines thereof loose in favour of this or that great man, or of one Courteor or other, as hath ever been the nature and custome of these Bishops to be men pleasers, and hunters after the favour and friendship of the world, not daring to displease or adhere unto the execution thereof upon others, least it should strike upon themselues commonly more guiltie and slanderous then any other. And thus the true worship of God, and care of the salvation of soules, shall utterly perish, Next, I call them good Scottish men, who haue a care and loue of the libertie of their countrey, and of their bodies to liue as free men therein in safetie and good health. But so it is this Bishoprie will bring the countrey, the lawes, the priviledges thereof with the bodies of men in slaverie,

verie, ſervitude and riotous diſſolution, which breedes manifold diſeaſes, diſtruction and death of body. For if any ſucceeding Prince pleaſe to play the tyrant, and governe all not by lawes, but by his will and pleaſure, ſignified by miſſiues, articles, and directions, theſe Biſhops ſhall never admoniſh him as faithfull paſtors and meſſengers of God (for that they are not, having no lawfull calling nor authoritie from God and his kirk) but as they are made up by man, they muſt and will flatter, pleaſure and obey men. And as they ſtand by affection of the Prince, ſo will they by no meanes jeopard their ſtanding, but be the readieſt of all to put the Kings will and pleaſure in execution; and it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the beſt, and ſuch namely as would ſtand for the lawes and freedome of the Realme, and caſt them in dark and ſtinking priſons, put them in exile from their native land, &c. Attour & beſides this, vnleſſe that men of whatſoever eſtate or ranke they be, cap and kneele to them, give them their ambitious ſtiles, places and ſalutations, ſlaviſhly abuſing their bodies againſt their hearts, they ſhall not miſſe their indignation to be intereſt, and croſſed, and wronged in their earands and affaires, and to bee traduced at Court by them or by their meanes. Laſt, their companie and entertainment will be an example of ryot and exceſſe, whereto that Biſhoprie is much given. And if thus the Realme, the lawes and priviledges therof, and the perſons of good Scotiſhmen may be uſed, it is eaſie to gather the like of their goods and geare. The Biſhop in his owne cirie, and among his vaſſals, will thinke himſelfe a pettie Roy, vvho dare deny to lend, to give, to ſerve them, with whatſoever they haue? or if they doe deny, can they not and their Lawyers, Domeſtiques, Dependaries, deviſe the way how to get him to the Horne, or into ſome inconvenience and danger of the law, and then their whole goods and eſtate falling into the Biſhops hands, they ſhall bee pilled and polled ſickerly, The pitifull experience in times paſt, makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been ſeen and felt, and yet dayly is in this Iland. And finally, it is already too manifeſt, that if the Prince bee prodigall, or would inrich his Courtiers by taxations, impoſts, ſubſidies and exactions layd upon the ſubjects of the Realme, who have been, or ſhall bee ſo ready to conclude and impoſe that by parliament, as theſe who are made and ſet up for that and the like ſervice. And whatſoever become of the poore tenents and labourers by land or ſea, they ſhall bee ever winners by that block and butie.

Then to conclude, ſeeing this Biſhoprie, as wee have clearly & evidently ſhown and verified, is againſt the written word of God,

againſt

against the Canons of the ancient kirk, against the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the kirk, against the iudgement of all the sound moderne divines and reformed kirkes in Europe, against the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland preached these 46 yeares, against the confession of faith subscrived and sworne by the King and whole body of the Realme, against the constitutions of the kirk of Scotland in her assemblies, against the lawes of the realme, against the honour of God and his Christ, against the honour and weale of the king, against the honour and weale of the realme, against the constitute and setled estate of the Kirk and kingdome, against the honour and weale of the noble estates in Parliament. And finally against the weale of all good Scottishmen in soule, body and goods; Our earnest request and exhortation is, with all humilitie, submisse and reverend duetie to his most excellent Maiesty, and most ancient and noble estates of this present parliamen; that as they tender the glory of God, the honour of his Christ, the peaceable and flourishing estate of Kirk and Commonweale, the welfare and honour of your selves, and the weale and good of all estates and subiects of this realme committed by God to their government an protection, that they erect not of new that unlawful & most pernitious estate of Bishops But on the cõtrarie, that it would please his Highnesse with advice of his estates in this present Parliament, to ratifie againe of new the established goverment and discipline of the Kirke, and confirme the cautions made in generall Assemblies, namely, where his Maiestie was present to save the Kirke and Realme from the most pestilent corruptions of that false Bishoprie that these fearfull dangers and inconveniences being thus prevented, the blessing of grace, peace and glory may be continued and multiplied upon the kings most excellent Maiestie, his most honourable estates, and whole realme, and the Kirk and kingdome of Iesus Christ may flourish in all quietnes with holines and truth. *Amen.*

Archip. Let others glory in their audacious conscience, as there will ever be a *Hiel* found to reedifie Iericho, although he know that it will cost him and his never so deare: for my selfe, I had rather in the basest estate abide the bensall of all episcopall authoritie without, then the forcible contradiction of these reasons within, set vpon the highest top of their ambition; especially if the rest of the steppes bee answerable to the first. Wearie not to goe through them with me: And now shew me which was the second.

Epaph. It is easier for me to tell you now, then it was for them to determine at that time, when their preferment was so odious to the whole body of the ministerie: yet it was seen at last, that

Invasio

Invasio perpetuæ dictaturæ was *via ad imperium*, and therfore let them first be constant moderators, which was wrought by this engine: First, *summa papaverum capita demetenda*: for in the yeare 1606, when this course was in hand, the ministers and rulers of the kirk, who stood in their watch, were dissipate, many were drawne out of the Countrey, and after that they were long detained at Court for the modest cariage of single ministers in a matter proper for civill and ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, as was the convention at Aberdein; Some of them as *Athanasius* like *Andrew Melvill*, and *Hilarius* like *Iames Melvill*, haue died in exile, others were permitted to returne but with restraint. Of the rest remaining at home, albeit some stand to this day in their owne stedfastnesse, yet a great part wanting their former encouragement, and loving the world, were moved to leaue their long continued opposition. 2 In the time of that absence and dissipation for advancing the Prelats to this second step of dignitie, there is appointed at Linlithgow, December 12 a convention in profession preparatorie for a generall Assembly, but keeped like a generall assembly, albeit inspired with another spirit, consisting of Noble men, Statesmen, and such ministers, as were readiest to take and give. 3. It was pretended that the cause of the weaknesse of the kirk against the Papists, was the appearance of the division in the ministerie and alienation of his maiesties minde from some ministers; And that the cause of this cause vvas, partly a feare of the subversion of the discipline and libertie of the Kirk, by removing of Sessions, Presbyteries, Provinciall and generall Assemblies by some of their owne brethren; vsurpation of vnlawfull Iurisdiction in their own persons, a griefe for the afflicted case of their well affected brethren. And vpon the other side, that the charge of the kirk government was committed to men who had not wisedome and experience for keeping the kirk in quietnesse. 4. For removing this cause upon the one side, there was a declaration made in such generall and ambiguous tearmes, as might both gull the simple, making them to conceiue that there was no change intended, and yet include their owne particular intention in case they should be examined afterward upon their own declaration. The words are: *There is no purpose to subvert the Discipline of the Kirke of Scotland, but rather to augment and strengthen the same, so farre as it can serve for the weale of the Gospell, and restraint of vice. And* (say the whole Bishops) *it is not our intention to vsurpe and exercise any tyrannous and vnlawfull Iurisdiction over our brethren, nor to engyre our selves in any way vnlawfully in the Kirk government, &c.* But for removing the cause upon the other side, there was no declaration accepted, that the wisest and

Second step of prelacie, Perpetuall moderation

Linlithgow Assembly.

most experienced men should be chosen thereafter; But the Bishops must be constant moderators, alwayes restrained by 13 severall cautions and bands, not unlike the caveats at Montrose; But that they play fast and loose in the end by casting to this provision: *If either upon his maiesties advice and proposition to the assembly, or upon their owne supplication, the generall assembly be moved thereafter to grant them any relaxation of any of the caveats, which upon good reason might appeare to the sayd assembly to be over strait; that this their promise should make no derogation to their libertie*; Even as a little before they professed their willingnes to dimit their benefices at the pleasure of the assembly, for taking away all offence from their brethren, but with *proviso* that his Ma. consent and approbation be had thereto. Never a more pernitious and plausible assembly in this kirk, every one of the Prelats *Vatinius*-like preventing accusation by confession and protestation. And yet no intention but to bee perpetuat in their moderation, for atchieving that, which they all disclaimed in word.

Archip. Was the applause so great that there was no opposition?

Epaph. The opposition could not at the first be so great, as at the first step, by reason of the dissipation of the opponents, the professed qualitie of the convention, the faire pretexts, the great promises, &c. By some the plat was embraced as a barre of brasse to hold out Bishops, by others as a pathway to their preferment, as the event did proue. And many blinded before, did see immediatly after that convention, that the constant moderators were (as was sayd at that time) the little theeves entring at the narrow windowes, to make open the doores to the great theeves. In all the quarters of the countrey, great disputation of the power of Ecclesiasticall assemblies in choosing their owne mouth and moderator. I might produce the reasons that were penned at that time against this second step, but that vvere infinite, and the particulars were to some of the actors yet living intollerable.

Archip. I have heard of your adversaries, that about these times there were faire offers made of conference and disputation for finall decision of all controverted matters, but that they failed ever on your side.

Epaph. But the truth is, another generall assembly but of the new sort, consisting of Noble men, Statesmen, and many Ministers, was keeped at Linlithgow, Iuly 16, 1608, vvhere all the causes of the diseases of the kirk, vvhich vvere mightily then aggreged, are brought to two heads, one was the contempt and discredit of the kirk, and of her vvonted government; another most speciall cause was the distraction of the ministers arising upon di-

versitie

verſitie of affection and opinion: diverſitie of affection vvas cured, or rather covered by a ſlender reconciliation made among ſo many as were preſent, and recommended to goe forward among the abſents at home in their owne preſbyteries with many proteſtations againſt the breakers of that new made unitie. Diverſitie of opinion vvas put into the hands of a cannie commiſſion compoſed of Biſhops there profeſſing the title and dignitie, and of certaine miniſters of differing iudgment, vpon no better vvarrant then the election of that convention, to convene with his Maieſty then in England, or with ſuch of the counſell as his highnes ſhould appoynt, at ſuch time and places as they ſhall be required by his Maieſty, and to treat reaſon and to conſult upon all matters ſtanding preſently in controverſie among the brethren anent the diſcipline of the kirk, and whatſoever they agree upon, to report to the next generall aſſembly.

Archip. Why ſhould that offer have been refuſed?

Epiſph. Conſider firſt that the one partie of that commiſſion was preſent, and in caſe to do what ſeemed good in their own eye: the other abſent, and for the moſt part diſcouraged by ſiniſtrous reports to deale in controverſies of that kind; no particular ground of the diſcipline of the kirk was there named to ſtand in difference, al was under allowed cuſtomes and conſtitutions of the kirk. If any particular diverſly taken had ſtood in doubt to be ſearched and determined by brotherly reaſoning, to what purpoſe ſhould his Highnes or his Counſellors bee faſhed with ſuch affaires, or by vvhat loue and diſcretion ſhould modeſt ſimple miniſters be tempted in ſuch matters to utter their minds before the ſplendor of awful authoritie, all vvhich were rather ſeen then latent impediments of that pretended vnion: yet the meeting of the commiſſioners was appointed and keeped at Falkland the 4 of May 1609.

Archip. Who was preſent then, and what vvas done?

Epiſph. The Earles of Dumbar and Wigtoun, and the Lords of Scone and Fentunbarnes, did convene as his Ma. commiſſioners, vvith 5 new Biſhops, 2 vniverſitie men, and 3 miniſters for the one part; 9 miniſters (the tenth being abſent) for the other. After reading of the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, his Ma. miſſiue, and M. *Patrick Simſon* his excuſe; his highnes commiſſioners urged a conference of 5 of either ſide, two of his Highnes cómiſſioners being preſent, vvhich break of cómiſſion was rather taken by the one party then granted by the other: for making way to reaſoning, the miniſters demanded, 1 what were the points of diſcipline under different opinions, 2 for the clearing of the qualitie of difference, that they would determine what could be ſayd in proper ſence to be in controverſie, and what *extra controverſiam.*

Conference at Falkland.

3. of those brethren alledged vnder diversitie of opinions, who, vvere on the one side, and vvho on the other. 4. by what authoritie could that conference make the generall commission speciall, or call in question one poynt of discipline established by the kirk, and ratified by law and practise. Much time and talk being spent about these demands, and some boastings to dash the ministers being breathed out, but no cleare answer returned, two questions were confusedly cast in. 3 Whether the moderators of assemblies should bee constant or circular (as they tearmed it.) 2 Whether should the caveats be keeped or not. To the first, the assembly at Linlithhow had already answered, namely that order taken for an *Interim* shall stand to the next generall assembly. To the second, that the caveats were acts of the generall assembly, such as they must stand unrepealed for a good use, viz. for restraining the corruptions of voters in parliament in name of the kirk, and in that respect no more to be called in question then any other act concerning that vote. But after divers assayes to draw the ministers in some breach of the established order, which they declined with all their might, the whole commissioners considering the generality of their commission, and being moved with other necessary respects continued their conference to the first tuesday of August that same 1609 yeare to be keeped at Striveling, willing every one of the sayd brethren to advise and consider gravely of the sayd questions, and to be ready to propone their mindes by word or writ, as they shall think fittest, &c.

Archip. Yee haue put my mind to rest concerning that conference at Falkland: I pray you shew me what was done at Striveling; for I never heard of that meeting.

Epa. The purpose chiefly intended in that assembly & conference to establish the Bishop in his evil grounded moderation, being in the mean time obtained, the diversitie of opinions still remained, and that diet permitetd to expire upon hope that the rest of the course in hand would go more easily in a Linlithgow-like assembly.

Archip. What assembly mean ye; for their sagacitie seemeth now to be hot upon the sent.

Third step to Prelacie, High Commission.

Epaph. I meane the assembly of Glasgow. But I must tell you first, that now having great rents, and being called Lords and Bishops, albeit not in respect of office but benefice; being Lords of Parliament, Lords of Councell, Patrons of kirks, plotters of Ministers stipends, &c. They were armed at that time in Febru. 1610 with the transcendent power of high Commission; which being added unto their former wealth and worldly dignities, maketh the third step of their preferment; *Ecce duo gladij; spirituale homo judicat omnia, ipse vero à nemine judicatur.*

Archip.

Archip. That is a great and terrible one: for they may now hold intrants at the dore, deprive them who are entred, or plague them with the hungry persecution, confine, ward, imprisone; So that now I thinke they may mount as they please without opposition; especially when the timorous know that never failing truth; *Cui plus licet quam par est plus vult quam licet.*

Epaph. Hence was it, that with all diligence the Assembly of Glascow was prepared the same yeare 1610 to be holden Iune 8. for lifting them towards the top of the Ladder: that they might be no longer, *tyranni sine titulo.* In that more costly then profitable Assembly moderated by the Bishop, and made up of Cathnes, Orkney & other wares of that sort; the Assembly at Aberdeen is declared null: the Bishops made Moderatours in every Diocesan Assembly, and either they or their deputies moderatour of the weekly meetings of the exercise: Ordination and deprivation of Ministers, visitation of Kirkes, excommunication and absolution of persons, presentations, and all pinned to their sleeues. And finally this easie conquest is made sure with this threefold cord. 1 Every Minister at his entrie shall swear obedience to his ordinarie: 2 No Minister, neither in preaching nor exercise shall speak against the Actes of this Assembly: 3 That the question of paritie or imparitie of Pastors be not touched in pulpit, both under the paine of deprivation.

Fourth step of Prelacie their power Ecclesiasticall.

Archipp. The Actes of this Assemblie added unto the former, are like the *ale* added to the *decretum*; of which the old proverbe went, *Ex quo decreto ale superbenerunt, id est, decreta in decretalia abierunt, omnia perpetuo in pejus ruisse.* But I see not how in all these proceedings they haue received any thing of that which they call the office of a Bishop, except the Benefice and power aboue single Presbyters.

Epaph. Three of the number went to England at their owne hand, without knowledge either of the Kirk, or of their owne Glascow Assemblie, and there received Consecration, the first step of their Hierarchie, which after their returne they communicate to their associates. And last of all for setting them upon the top of the mast, where they are yet fast a sleep: and for conclusion of this Perthian plot of questions, articles and whole building rising therupon, the Parliament holden at Edinburgh Iune 28 1617 enacted two severall Statutes, one anent the Election of Archbishops and Bishops: another anent the restitution of Chapters.

Fift step, Consecration.

Sixt step, their Confirmation in Parliament.

Archipp. I haue often heard of the Protestatores and protestation at that time. As ye gaue me great satisfaction by that graue and well backed protestation, which marred the musicke of their

first note at Perth, so I desire to know what was done against the fixe note, and higheſt ſtep at Edinburgh.

Epaph. Perhaps yee haue ſeen maiſter *Maxwells* magiſteriall maxims againſt the 53 Proteſtant-preachers of Scotland. The truth is, the miniſters preſent at that time to vvatch for the weale of the Kirk, being conveened vvith the Miniſters of the town of Edinburgh, out of the conſideration of preſent and imminent evils reſolved upon this modeſt and generall forme of Proteſtation.

Proteſtation given in to the Parliament 1617.

Moſt gracious and dread Soveraigne; Moſt Honourable Lords and remanent Commiſſioners of this preſent Parliament; We the Miniſters of Chriſt his Evangell, being here conveened from all parts of this your Majeſties Kingdom, doe in all ſubmiſſion and reverence intreat your Majeſtie and Honours patient and favourable hearing of this our reaſonable and humble ſupplication: And firſt it Will pleaſe your Highnes and Honourable Eſtates preſently conveened, be informed, that We are heere a number of the Miniſters out of all the parts of this Kingdome, & that the Biſhops haue proteſted ſince our comming to a great many of us, that nothing ſhould be agreed upon nor conſented to by thē in this preſent Parliament, in matters concerning the holy Kirk, the diſcipline and order thereof Without our ſpeciall knowledge and advīſe; affirming alſo that neither they nor We haue power of conſent in any innovation or ſmalleſt change of the order of our Kirk eſtabliſhed, Without ſpeciall advice and determination of the generall Aſſemblie, repreſenting the bodie of the Kirk of the Kingdome had thereunto. Whereupon We reſting in ſecuritie haue receibed now a ſuddaine report to our great aſtoniſhment, of an Article to paſſe in concluſion, & to receiue the force of a law in this preſent Parliament, decerning & declaring that your Maj. With advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſuch a competent number of the Miniſterie, as your Maj. out of your Diſcedome ſhall thinke expedient, ſhall in all time comming haue full power to advīſe and conclude in all matters decent for the externall policie of the Kirk, not repugnant to the Word of God, and that ſuch concluſions ſhall haue the ſtrength and power of Eccleſiaſtical lawes. Wherein it Will pleaſe your Maj. and Honourable Eſtates to heare our juſt greeues, & conſider our reaſonable deſire; and not to put us your Maj. humble & loving ſubjects to that poore and ſimple point of proteſtation; Which if remeꝛie be not provided, We muſt be forced to uſe for the freedom of our Kirk, and diſcharge of our conſcience.

Wee then firſt plead reformation and puritie in our Kirk, in doctrine, in miniſtration of the Sacraments, in diſcipline and all convenient order With the beſt reformed kirks in Europe; Which may ſtand, and haue been acknowledged rather as a pattern to be followed of others, then that We ſhould ſeeke our reformation from any, that never attained to that perfection, Which in the mercie of God this long time bygone under your High. We haue enjoyed, and are able by reaſon to maintain the ſame.

Next

Next we plead the liberties of our kirk, which by the Lawes of your Majesties Kingdome, and diverse Acts of Parliament given forth in favour of the same, is established with power of publick meetings & generall Assemblies, and allowance to make such Canons and Constitutions as may serve for the comely order and decencie of the same, all which by this conclusion to be taken, must be utterly overthrown.

Thirdly, We plead for the peace and tranquilitie of our Kirk, that being nearest the Divine and Apostolicke Institution, hath lived without schisme or rentings in it selfe, and by introduction of any noveltie not orderly, nor as appertaines, may be miserablie rent and our peace broken.

Fourthly, We have been at divers times sufficiently secured from all suspicions of innovation, as by your Maj. letter the last Winter sent down to this Countrie to take away all feare of any alteration, which might arise upon your Maj lovingly intended journey; which letter by your Maj. speciall Will, and direction of the specials of your Highnes councell is elsewhere intimated in our Pulpits. As also by that Proclamation given out the 26 day of September 1603, when rumors of an intended conformitie with the kirk of England was spread abroad. Wherin your Maj. sufficiently avoided all such suspicion: And the hearts of all honest men setled themselves in a confidence, that no such thing should be attempted.

These and many other reasons have moved us, in all reverence by this our humble Supplication to intreat your Highnes, & Honourable Estates not to suffer the forenamed Article, nor any other prejudicall to our liberties formerly granted, to passe at this time to the griefe & prejudice of this poore Kirk; whereby the universall joy of thousands of this land, who rejoyced at your Maj happy arriving here shalbe turned to mourning: Wherin as we are earnest supplicants to God to inclyne your Maj. hart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God and the weal of the subjects, so if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then doe we in all humilitie with that dutifull acknowledgment of our loyaltie to your Maj. as becomes, protest for our selves & all our brethren that shal adhere to our protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your Maj. law, then to admit or obtemper an imposition that shall not fall frō the kirk orderly convened, having power of the same.

Archipp. The Ministers could say no lesse for defence of the liberties of the Kirk granted in former Parliaments; and for declaration of their present and purposed constancie.

Epaph. Albeit a protestation be a forme of defence, forbidden to no person neither by the law of God, of nature, or of man, nevertheless a heavy accusation & hard pursuit is intended against the Ministers of that protestation: and some of thē for their stedfast standing to the liberty of the Kirk put to high extremitie: But as sundry of the subscrivers of the first protestation at Perth, through ambition sought after the Prelacy, against which they then protested.

So

So a number of the first subscivers of the second Protestation at Edinburgh, were charged to compeire at Santandroes a few daies after, and through feare were moved at that time to repent themselues of their faithfull service done to the Kirk: and since haue practised and preached against their protestation, to their owne shame, the offence of their people, the sorrow of their deerest friends, advantage of the enemie, and no small hurt to the Kirk and cause of Religion.

Archipp. I perceiue that yee haue ever been protesting, and they ever proceeding, till that the unitie, authoritie, and order of the Kirk are quite destroyed, and the externall worship of God left naked without a guard, readie to be a pray to every enemie.

Bitter fruits of the three former degrees of defection.

Epaph. The bitter fruits of the former alteration caries secret seeds of the following defection; the one side partly by terrours and allurements, crosses and commodities, banishment and benefices is in number diminished; and partly by paines, feares and expenses wearied and weakned. *Nec ultra pars senior ex tempestate repugnare ausa, jam quoquo modo rebus finem imponere cupiens, Nam quidlibet audere atque agere facile erat ma cimorum amicitia subnixis.* The other, what by revolters, and what by Intrants daily increased and by sweet successe and frequent favours encouraged and made wanton. Before that mysterie of Hierarchie was unvailed, distraction among the Ministers was judged to be the causes of the increase of superstition and Papistrie; the fyne pretence of so many Assemblies, but both the one and the other are as negligently passed as mightily increased since. What the Kirk of Christ hath lossed, as much hath Antichrist gained; he needs not to feare the fead of Discipline and Kirk Assemblies, nor the ancient unitie of vigilant Pastors, for by the Circæan cup of this mightie mutation the face of matters, and fashions of men are so metamorphosed, that perhaps you shall find, that he who loved you best and hated the adversaries and corrupters of Religion most, is changed quite from himselfe, and scarsly can ye know your old friend now walking in his new cut; our *old one heart* is now *either heart and heart*, or else *no heart at all*. We were wont to close up our great controversies with heartie harmonie: now in common matters we hirsp like harp and harrow. For libertie is slaverie; for mutuall honour, pride and contempt, the spirituall service of the Gospell is left for the affaires of this life, for Kirk Assemblies are Episcopall Courts for friends comfortlesse and against enemies awlesse. If there yee seek reason, yee shall haue will: and if you say Brother, my Lord smiles, and yet frets at you as a Disciple of the old discipline, and a despiser of the new domination: for reasoning and graue deliberation in weightie

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matters you shall haue a dash of artificiall voting, like *Alexanders* sword upon *Gordius* knot: yea in a point of Religion if they cannot perswade you, they vvill surely usurpe over your conscience. Papistrie, blasphemie, breach of the Sabboth, contempt of the Gospell, mocking add puritanizing of faithfull Ministers, and reformed professors are rather passed as a merriment, or prayse by a smile, then represſed and punished as crying transgressions: he that refraines makes himselfe a prey, and he that will not follow the droue like the beasts of the field is the proud mans earth vvherupon he trampes, and must haue readie shoulders for a load of injuries; and if he be not servile in imitation, like waxe to perswasions, and wirty to vvrong himselfe, he must learn to bear contentment and extremities in one minde. Thus Christ tryeth his own Kirk; Antichrist hath escaped vvith his crueltie and treacherie, and hath gotten as many yeares of peace to prepare his last onset by subtiltie, as the Kirk hath of troubles to make her preparations against his battels. He is shameless and insolent in his strength as he apprehends that he is not affrayed to exsult with the cryes of victorie before the battell: And notwithstanding of his incurable crueltie, some of the Pastors and professors of Religion, by banishments, imprisonements, confinings, fear of pursute, reproaches, calumnies, and all sort of contempt are so extenuate, that the pitie of their case is no lesse pearcing, then their faithfull labours in the Ministerie haue been profitable: Others so drunken vvith the deceiueable favours of the time, that their care to bee great eateth up their paines to doe good. And if there be a third sort free of fear and folly, and zealous in Religion, their hearts are pulled down to behold the miseries of poor men, vvho faine vvould doe vvell, but are wickedly abused, and the pride of idle men, vvho pay the debt of their calling by their nodd of Conformity to be admired, as the Prophets of Ierusalem and the pillars of the Kirk.

Archipp. Your just complaints of the former alteration, albeit there were no vvorse to follow, doe cry, that it is more then time that the strong men set up, and sitting on high, *Vt ei Iehoua* should set themselues to seek the Lord, and say to their brethren, *Come vvere We pray you to us; Let us seek the God of our fathers and the ancient Prey of our peace. We haue fallen out, but let there bee no more strife between you and us: We are brethren and debters to God and his people, that We should earnestly contend for the maintenance of the faith once given to the Saints. Wherefore Were We borne to see the destruction of our people and the destruction of our holy Citie, and thus to sit still, till it be delivered into the hands of strangers, to bee devoured by the sword of sworn enimies, that as her glorie had been great,*

so might her dishonour and her excellencie be turned into sorrow. Let us be zealous of the Law, and give our lives for the covenant of our fathers, for by it we shall obtaine glorie.

Epaph. Yet the verie teares of Gods people for the common miseries of the Kirk will feed the furie of such incendiares, as make their own particulars their highest projects: The wicked will still doe wickedly. As the Bishops of Rome after their advancement were not satisfied with the two uncouth Tragedies of *Bellum sacrum* and *Bellum Pontificium*, wherewith they filled the world with bloud, and troad all secular powers under their feet: but must also, which is worse, depraue Gods worship, and in place of the Ordinances of Christ establish their own Traditions, wherein they proceeded so farre, till they came to the manifest contradiction of Christs own legacie in the Sacrament, by that horrible clause of *Non obstante* expressed in their act, *Notwithstanding that Christ institute* &c. So our Prelats after their preferment, not resting content with the destruction of the unitie, authoritie and order of the Kirk, nor with their precedencie before the Peeres of the Kingdome, and power over all the subjects, must make an on set upon the worship of God, esteemed the substantiall and fundamentall part of our profession, so long as the other which was called the circumstantiall part was in question: but now being once controverted, judged as indifferent and alterable as the other was before; and being inspired with the sprit of Desolation by promises and threatnings working in their soules, feare of losse, faith, hope, and loue of worldly commoditie, in stead of Theologicall vertues, they resolue to proceed in the course of defection till they haue come in effect to the clause *Non obstante* in the Sacrament, *Notwithstanding the institution and example of Christ.*

Fourth degree of defection in the worship of God.

Archipp. Yee haue brought me to the fourth maine degree of defection concerning the worship of God, wherein I would see the severall steps, and upon what part the first assault was made.

Epaph. Neither they, nor I can tell where they will arriue, but resoluing to try a stormie sea in despite of shipwrack, for better sport to the Papists, for further disgrace to the reformation of Religion, for loosing all, and for the more easie fishing in troubled waters, The famous Confession of Faith well known and commended at home and abroad, the formes of prayer publickly used in the Congregations and Families of Scotland, must be cast in a new mould; But by some providence these new faces haue been kept close since the generall Assemblie holden at Aberdeen, the 13 day of August 1616; where some opposition being made to that needlesse and hurtfull change, & to the formes

Aberdeen Assembly.

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there presented, they were set over to further deliberation, but of such a commission, whose designes when time requires will finde favour to speed wel.

Archipp. But I heare no mention of the five Articles in that Assembly.

Epaph. Albeit it was layd to the charge of the Prelats, that it was high time for them to render the fruits of the paines and charges bestowed upon their exaltation &c. which the clerke was forbidden to reade. And albeit lineaments were drawn for Confirmation, and for holy daies, by enjoyning the Communion at Pash; yet the proceedings of that Assemblie gaue greater provocation then contentment: As the recantations of some Subscrivers of the protestation at Edinburgh, and the dissipation of the rest, like the stragglers of an armie put to the rout, through rigorous censure of others, who proved constant, gaue greater hope then distrast of better speed: And therefore unto a naked handfull sick of feare and suspicions, the five Articles were offered, which were likely to draw down the Sacraments and the Saboath from their honourable estimation, as the 13 Articles of Perth were powerfull to divide the Ministerie, cassire the Assemblies, and nullifie the whole Iurisdiction and libertie of the Kirk. The peeping answer returned to the first motion of these Articles giving hope to prevaile, drawes on with posthast a generall Assembly to bee kept at Santandroes the 25 of November 1617; Where the said Articles were in a sort proponed, but neither considered in themselues as points of divinity, true or false, erronious or orthodoxe; nor how they might stand in our reformation without infamie of our profession, and scandall of our professors. By reason of the shortnesse of time, suddaine convening of the Assemblie, and absence of six whole Dioces besides the Commissioners and best enformed sort of sundry Presbyteries; matters were remitted to further diligence, rather then any thing perfectly concluded.

Assemblie at Santandroes.

Archipp. Had the diligence bene used and paines taken at that time before the conclusion of Articles which hath been abundant since, they might haue been perhaps holden off, and the Kirk yet free of their fatherie.

Epaph. But the masters of that credite gaue forth that after that Assemblie the Kirk would never be favoured in our daies with liberty to meet again in a generall: which as it was a prettie pollicie, speaking fully of the dischage of the ancient Generall Assemblies, but lisping for one of the new edition; so was it a meane to make the credulous Ministers inclining to peace rather then contentious disputation, the more secure and lesse carefull

to search the good and evill, and to see the course of that plot dressed up in fined articles. In the meane time they are surprised with the suddaine proclamation of a Convention to be holden at Perth Auguſt 25 1618.

Perth Assembly.

Archipp. Albeit I haue heard and reade much of that Meeting, yet I desire to heare your observation concerning the principall Actors, the proceeding and conclusion thereof.

Epaph. The meeting vvas more then ordinarie, made up of Noblemen, Statesmen, Barons and Burgesses powed out for the purpose, vvith the splendor of their greatnesse to dash and deface such simple and modest Ministers and Commissioners as were loath to admit any noveltie in the vvorship of God, wherof they vvere not fully perswaded in their own mind. Amongst the deliberate and mightie in those purposes vvere to be found, some, it may be, taking that golden occasion to remember the proceedings of the Kirk of old against superstition and proud attempts, as injuries done against them or some of their neere and deere friends; some to shew their resolution to please, in despite of whatsoever to be said or done; some began to practise those Articles before they went to Perth, but vvith as great griefe to their own flocks as they little regarded to off nd them: and many so their own friends, and set for their own particulars, that they vvere led rather vvith hopes of gaine and pleasure for themselues then vvith Religion for Religion. In big vvords the cõmon cause vvas professed of all; but there was more heat in the pursute of what vvas liked, then patience to consult with reason anent the bringing again into the practise of Gods worship of certain ceremonies advisedly cast forth, and happily holden without, for the space of many bygone yeares. In the proceedings, how violently matters vvere carried, God, the conscience of the mightie and vvise, and such indifferent beholders as vvere present, are vvitnesses. The particulars are to be seen in the nullitie and antinullitie of that Assemblie so much tossed betwixt an adversarie to Novellists, and the advocate of Novelties, in the answer to gentle *Iohn Mitchelsones* polemickes and other Treatises of that subject. In end, although costly vvits projected that course, yet so strait vvas the vvay to conclusion, that the pleasing of superiour powers was pretended with promise never to urge obedience: no censure durst be touched against Contraveners nor Statutes made against the golden rule, *Try all things, and keep that vvhich is good:* a soveraigne preservatiue against defection, and a deadly dittae against *Ecebolius*.

Archipp. Such a conclusion made by such persons upon such proceedings is no strange thing, But obedience unto a conclusion of

of that qualitie against so many bands of conscience, and so long practise, seemeth a matter more strange.

Epaph. Ye cannot be ignorant what the obedience and what the opposition was, for the space of three yeares after; notwithstanding of so many assayes to bring on the practise, till at last in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh in the moneth of August 1621, there is a law made for the ratification of the five Articles; but without the sting of compulsion, and as free of penaltie as the constitution of Perth meeting was voyd of sanction and censure. What civill obedience shall be given to that Ecclesiasticall constitution for respect to the law, time will proue, and they know best, who resolue to bee Christians according to the act of Parliament.

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THE COURSE OF CONFORMITIE, AS IT IS CONCLUDED in the last Parliament, *Anno 1621.*

Archippus.

Second demand concerning the parliament.

YOV are now vvhere I would haue you, and vvhere my second demand proponed in the beginning, desired to bring you. As ye haue led me through a long labyrinth, and many secret vvayes of defection, to the beginning of that parliament; so I beseech you wearie not to lead me to the end thereof, that I may know what I am bound to do by vertue of that act, in the presence of God: for according to his acts I desire to be professor and pastor both.

Satisfied in 3 particulars.

Epaph. Remembring for preface my premonition in the beginning, I will first shew you the introduction to the Parliament, concerning certaine preparations for dressing the five articles for the parliament, and the Parliament for them. Secondly the, parliamentarie proceedings, and paines taken in time of Parliament for their ratification, untill the inacting of the statute it selfe. Thirdly, some memorable and rare events falling forth at that time by his providence, vvho beholdeth from heauen the actions of men; and at extraordinary times leaves not himselfe vvithout an extraordinary vvitnesse.

1. Preparation for the parliament.

Qui aduersus multos bellũ gerunt, eos superare possunt quamuis viribus inferiores sint, si modo sustinere queant pr mum impetum.

Archip. The delay of time vvas an introduction of it selfe according to the Florentines policie. The first brash of a multitude is ever strongest, and time vvorketh. But vvhat were the particular preparations?

Epaph. After their conception and pressing towards the wombe at Aberdein, Saintandrowes, and before, their birth followed at Perth, and begat some lovers. Afterward they gat the favourable names of the kings service and conformitie; and vvere carefully fostered by a rumour that the learned and wise of the land is for them, that the people would gladly embrace them, and to them

vvas

vvas tied all peace and quietnes.

Archip. That had been a ſtrong argument indeed in the ſchoole of common-wits, if it vvould goe on this forme. Our fathers did it, our Princes gave us leaue, and our Prophets defended it. *Multi præſumunt ut grandes, per ea ut ſolummodo*

Epaph. But this yong conformitie vvanting ſuch authoritie, came little ſpeed at Preſbyteries and Paroches. Her cauſe then was pleaded firſt in the court of Facilitie. The Biſhops did convene their Synodals, and there the blaſt of conformitie vvas raiſed with all inforcements of terror; And of the fearfull ſort of *Gedeons* army, ſome were moved to promiſe at leaſt the practiſe of conformitie contrary to their own vote at Perth, and others miſtaken in their modeſt ſilence, as conſenting to the courſe. Next, in the tranſcendent court of Extremitie, the high commiſſion did convene, and as it pleaſed them to make choyce, faithfull paſtors vvere drawn before them, and contrary to all order and law of this kirk and kingdome, ſummarily ſilenced and confined. By theſe preparatorie aſſayes many were induced to call evill good, by ſpeaking for it, by not ſpeaking againſt it, by defending it as they were doers of it; and a buſie ſort defending it in others whilſt as yet they had not done themſelves. By ſuch proceedings ſcandall and confuſion vvere mightily increaſed, The people did run from novelties at home to ſeek the ſacrament, where they might haue it according to the old forme. And although for covering this deformitie, and drawing the miniſters to the courſe intended, it was openly given out, that it was never meaned, that the people ſhould be compelled to alter that forme received and confirmed by law and long practiſe: yet ſo pregnant and piercing were theſe new formes, that many moe ſuſpected ſome hard event of theſe varied policies, then were throvghly perſuaded to change their profeſſion; But ſome readier way was found out to make diſciples of ſome Noble men and Borrowes, the earth vvas compaſſed, and ſundry were made but upon ſenſible coſt. When it was perceived to bee hard and difficile to get place for theſe ſtrange novelties in the worſhip of God, and in the paroches of this kingdome, without more helpe of the ſecular arme, the leaders of that imployment after great ſtormes grew calme for a Parliament.

Archip. But how was the matter brought to a Parliament?

Epaph. The skill vvas to catch a fit opportunitie, and a ſtrong occaſion vvas offered by the ſeeking of a voluntarie ſupply for the afflicted ſtate of Bohemia; vvhen the Nobilitie and others were aſſembled for that buſines, it was reſolved, that the generall contribution of the Lieges would bee more honourable for the countrey, and fitting for that worthy cauſe, and for preſenting their overture, choyce was made of the Biſhop of Sainctandrowes, who went *Ad res gerendas ſemper temporum occaſiones rapiunt. Machiavel. poſſunt intueri. oportere.*

vvent to Court in the midst of a winter storme, and perswaded the refusall of the voluntary contribution, and delay for a time to doe good service. And having obtained libertie for holding a Parliament, came speedily home againe with greater ioy to such as sent him, then appearance of timous ayd to the state distressed.

Archip. That was too strike under cover *a Bastinado de bombaso.*

Epaph. After that the deeps betwixt the two rockes of highest displeasure and popular indignation were tried; the peoples disposition and opinion sounded, they greedily grip the wished opportunitie of that charitable supply so vniversally liked: finally, all meanes and men being fervently disposed, set on edge and in readines and promises passed for hope of good successe in this principall earthly desire. This parliament so long delayed, and as long desired, with all solemnities of state is proclaimed at the market crosse of Edinburgh.

Archip. You are now drawing towards the second poynt, which I cannot well take vp, except ye give me the tenor of the proclamation as best expressing the causes of that honorable meeting.

Epaph. Lest you or I either should be mistaken, behold the true copie thereof.

Proclamation of the Parliament.

IAMES *by the grace of God, King of great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith.*

Forasmuch as We know Well, that the happinesse, strength and glory of a Monarchy free from tyranny and confusion, is builded upon the mutuall loue betwixt the king and his subiects, expressed by the one in a fatherly care to maintaine his countries in a secure peace, flourishing With religion and iustice, and by the others in a loyall and submissiue obedience to their Princes Will and commandement, accompanied With a hearty and affectioned offering of all supply and ayd to the vpholding and increase of his estate and honour With their goods and bodies. Which reciprocall bonds (as layd in by nature and birth vpon king and people) albeit no new contract can tie or shake off, yet are they With solemnitie in a sort renewed at the Assemblies of Parliaments, Wherein the subiects according to the occurrent necessities of the Princes affaires, offer to him their best supply and helpe, and hee returneth to them satisfaction and ease of their iust grieuances, pardons for transgression of the lawes, ratifications and acts in favours of particular persons, estates, and corporations, With the establishment of such new lawes as the time doth require. And Wee having now appointed a Parliament in our kingdome of Scotland to be holden and begin vpon the first day of Iune next, Wherein as the importance and necessitie of our adoes giveth us iust hope for to looke for a supply to bee granted to us by our subiects in our sayd kingdome in a greater measure then hath been at any time heretofore, So are We most Willing, that they should haue all contentment in having either generall lawes or particular

alls authorized by our royall consent, which being ripely advised, shall bee found expedient to passe. But because our long experience hath taught us, how that divers persons partly by ignorance, and partly by fraud, are accustomed, presuming upon the short time of the sitting of our Parliament, to give in many billes and articles to those, who are appointed to sit upon the same, conteining matter prejudiciall to our crowne, or other our good subiects, which shortnes of time, and multitude of businesse permitteth not to be so narrowly examined, as need were. And for this cause We have appointed a certaine number of our counsell to meet some dayes before the sayd parliament: and to consider of all billes, petitions and articles, which shall be exhibit to them by our Clerk of Register. Therefore our Will and pleasure is, that all such, as intend to give in any articles to be past in this approching Parliament, deliver the same to our Clerk of Register before the twentie day of May next, Otherwise the same shall not bee received, read, nor voted in our sayd parliament, except the same be past under our owne hand. And that yee make publication hereof at the market crosse of our Burgh of Edinburgh, to the end that none of our subiects pretend ignorance. Given at our palace at Westminster the 21 of Aprill 1621.

Archip Was there no further done for convocation?

Epaph. Missive letters and precepts were directed according to the ordinary custome from his Maiesties Counsell, to all Noblemen of the land, Marquises, Earles, Vicounts, Lords, Barons, Commissioners of Shires, Bishops and Burrowes.

Archip. I see not a word in the proclamation of the five Articles, and I see a faire occasion offered to the kirk or any of her members to give in their petitions according to their feares or desires.

Epaph. The cover of the subsidie will not let you see them, grope rather, *Videndi facultas omnes attingit, attrectandi vero paucas dantaxat*, Machiavel. What was done in the petition yee shall see. The corporations of the kingdome in privat persons, as they had their publick or privat affaires to be done in Parliament, as they were wakened and warned by this occasion, according to their customable privileges, appointed and kept their ordinary meetings, for preparing their petitions and articles to be timously presented according to the will of the proclamation. But a necessarie corporation, & divers ministers and members thereof under great necessities and need of support from the compassionat hands of that high and honourable meeting, being deprived not onely of the ancient vigorous generall assembly, but of the weak image thereof, and in that respect of wonted order and Councell for preparing their desires, and authorizing commissioners to present the same, was left unrespected and desolate.

Archip. Yet his Maiesties proclamation not onely permitting, but inviting, and the concurrence of so many weightie causes inforcing, as the great growth of corruptions, boldnesse of Papists, and increase of Papistry rather plaistered then punished, and the distractions of the Kirke now turned into persecution of the Ministers, and grievous offence of the faithfull professors like a fire devouring and wasting all vnitie, order, and brotherly kindnesse, with no small danger to the state of religion, the ministers of dutie ought, and without wrong or offence to any, might haue presented their humble petion.

Chien e'chaudè craint l'eau froide.

Epaph. Ye may guesse at the difficultie of that dutie by your owne disposition and retirednes at that time; yet it pleased the Lord to move the ministers in most quiet and peaceable maner to joyne their hearts and hands in this forme of supplication.

Supplication presented to the Parliament in name of the Kirk.

May it please your Honours in this present Parliament assembled under the high and excellent Maiestie of our deare and dread Soveraigne, to accept and consider the humble petition of your wearied and broken hearted Brethren, Ministers and people, obliged under higher paines then losse of life, libertie, goods and fame, for Sions sake not to hold their tongue, but to call and cry to the God of Heaven, and the gods of the earth, that peace may be within her walles, and prosperitie within her palaces.

Although it were more expedient to weepe then to say ought, when we see the Lords armie disordered, his companie broken, and in the chock betwixt Christian and Turke, Protestant and Papist, some of his worthies put from their places, and others turned, if not to the enemies campe, yet labouring for his cause. Neverthelesse having this happy occasion of his Highnesse fatherly care, providence, and inclination to distribute iustice and mercie among his Maiesties people, to whom by right pertaines the worthy comforts and advantages, which the King of Kings hath inclosed in his Royall scepter, to bee delivered forth and disposed according to the occasions presented, and the reciprocall consideration in his Highnesse late proclamation expressed, as also of this high Court, and of your Honours compassionate intercession for our quietnesse and deliverance from injuries alreadie felt, and further feared, wee are even forced to speake, though not as Tertullus, *or they who care not for the losse of much inward peace of their soules and consciences, so that they may gaine their supposed victorie. Yet holding our selves within the bounds of that Christian moderation, which followes God without iniurie done to any man, It is not beseeming our ministeriall calling to secret the*

truth

truth whereof wee are perſuaded: and by a cowardly kinde of ſilence, and truthleſſe modeſtie to betray a good cauſe. As touching our owne grievances, and others concerning our ſelues, wee have locked up our hearts with patience, and our lippes with taciturnitie, rather then wee ſhould impeſhe your Honours at this time with our juſt complaints of wronged innocencie, by ſo many great reproches, ſhameleſſe calumnies of ſedition, diſobedience, hypocrites, ſiſtaries, &c. Deprivations and rigorous practiſes inflicted upon ſome, as if wee alone had troubled Iſrael, by holding for ſuith theſe principles, and maintaining theſe opinions, whereupon Schiſmatickes and Puritanes build their hereſies and deſpiſe better then themſelves: and for no other cauſes knowne to us, but for our conſtant care, as God hath dealt to every man his meaſure of faith to build the houſe of God, according to the lineby paterne preſcribed from his holy mountaine: our conformitie with the Kirk of Scotland and the beſt reformed kirkes of other Countries, and our loyall obedience to his Majeſties lawes, declaring and approving the true Kirke, the true members and Miniſters thereof, and the doctrine, ſacraments and diſcipline to bee miniſtred and profeſſed within the ſame. As for the vehement outcries againſt our cauſe, and the ſundry foule matters layd to our charge in Word and Writ, wee paſſe them all as ſwines fleſh dreſſed after a divers faſhion; and wee looke for equall hearing at your Honours hands, and for Pauls libertie from King Agrippa: Thou art permitted to ſpeake for thy ſelfe. In this confidence of our good cauſe, and perſuaſion of your Honours love to the truth knowne by your ſelves, wee preaſſe not to offend any, but being provoked to defend our ſelves, leaving to the Lord, who ſhall iudge the quick and the dead, to perſuade them that have their eyes upon us unpartially to iudge our labours in the miniſterie for the true religion, and againſt the enemies and adverſaries thereof, our harmleſſe converſation and blameleſſe, as it pleaſes the Lord to aſſiſt us under our infirmities; The reaſons whereby wee are upholden in our courſe and proteſtations, and juſt defence againſt the oppoſitions intended, are all made patent to the eyes of the World, no wayes to lay open the nakednesſe of our mother to the ſcandall of the enemie, or juſtly to offend any otherwayes minded; but that the multitude of our profeſſors bee not tainted with the venome of malitiouſneſſe, contrary to the ſincere milke which they have received by a ſwift running ſpeat of humane eloquence, more fitting to deceive the eare, then to worke grace in the heart. If ſilence were forborne, wee ſhould deſiſt from ſpeaking. If the ſword of purſuite were put up, wee could bee ſoone diſcharged of our buckler. But being purſued, if wee defend not, wee die with ſhame, and are guiltie of our owne overthrow.

The praiſe of all paines vſtly taken, the ſteppe of all callings, and crowne of commendable ſufferings, is to doe and ſuffer in the cauſes of Chriſts ſpouſe, and for the maintenance of the ſalvation of our own ſoules. That one thing We cannot ſuppreſſe, our hearts deſire to haue, and hold religion in libertie and puritie. And for that effect, better like of the ſingle forme of policie in the Kirk of Scotland, and the reformed kirkes in other Countries; then the many Ceremonies retained by ſome. Yea loue and feare compelleth vs to put your Honours in minde, that as it hath been in all ages the holy diſpoſition, and happy practiſe of all Gods people, to ſet continually before their eyes, his meſtimable goodneſſe towards his Kirke, her caſe and condition in her militarie troubles, and in conſideration of the one and the other dutie, required and exſpected at your hands, Wherethrough in the riches of Gods mercies, they haue been ſafe from that dreadfull ruine that hath iuſtly overtaken the careleſſe and the Wicked, So now in time of dangerous diſtraction it Would pleaſe your Honours to ſet before your eyes, how Wonderfully the Lords loue and rich grace hath been powred upon his Kirk in this nation, and by the meanes of religion vpon our gracious Soveraigne, your Honours auncеſtors of bleſſed memorie, your ſelves, your friends, and upon this eſtate, the preſent eſtate of ſuch a loving mother, crying in her bloody diſtreſſes for helpe at your hands, And in regard of bleſſings abundantly receiued in the dayes of her libertie and health, What is due from your ſon-like affections, places of credit, and honourable callings in your high conventions, where God ſtands in the aſſembly of Gods, high iudges among the Gods to your Well-deſerving mother, in Whoſe Wombe We Were conceiued, and brought up on her knees to the condition Wherein We now ſtand at eaſe and peace in the dayes of her diſtreſſe. Our humble petition to your Honours is, that as yee reſpect the glorie of Chriſts kingdome to be continued in this land, the adorning of his Maieſties crowne, and the quietneſſe of his loving and loyall ſubiects, the endleſſe prayſe of your ſelves, and the flouriſhing of your Honourable eſtates With the particular comfort of ſo many miniſters and congregations Within this Realme. This poore Kirk in the day of her teares, griefe and feare, by your timous interceſſion at his Maieſties hands, (and the Lord give you favour in the preſence of the King) and your uttermoſt indeavours debtfull to Gods honour, and Chriſts kirk in this happy occaſion now preſented, may obtaine in this parliament her moſt reaſonable deſires.

A ſufficient and ready execution of former acts of Parliament made againſt the fearfull blaſphemy of Gods name, profaning of the Lords day, and contempt of his Sanctuarie and ſervice ſo vniverſally ouer-flowing in this land, not onely in the perſons of poore ignorant,

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in a manner tyed to these horrible crimes by a cursed custome and beggarly necessitie, but even in the more honourable sort, whose damnable example encourages their followers to sinne without feare, with such additions as may represse and restraine these crying abominations in all, without respect of persons.

A safe libertie to enjoy the profession of our Religion, as it is reformed in doctrine, Sacraments and discipline, and hath been openly professed, sworne and practised by Prince, Pastors, and people of all ranks; your predecessors of worthy memorie, your selues, and wee all yet living these threescore yeares bygone and aboue.

A full deliverance from, and a sufficient defence against all novations and novelties in doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline, and specially such, as by constitutions of the Kirk, confessions of faith, liberall Lawes of the Countrie, Oathes and Subscriptions, and long continued practise, hath been condemned and cast out, as idle rites and Romish formalities, under whatsoever pretence they plead for re-entrie.

That no Act passe in derogation or prejudice of the Actes abreadit granted in favour of reformation, libertie of Assemblies, convenient execution of Discipline &c. or for corroboration of new opinions against the same, whether Episcopacie, or ceremonies the shadow thereof, which for the peace of the Kirk by heavenly Wisedome should be rejected rather then ratified.

That all Ministers that are removed from their Charges, be restored to their places, functions, and stipends.

The happines to live under his Majestie and his Heires, ordinary Iudges, and Rulers appointed by lawes and custome, and established by the Actes of Parliament, that our cause be lawfully cognosced according to order and Justice, before any sentence passe against our persons, places and estates: and not to be judged by any judicatorie forraigne, and not established by the Lawes of our Country.

We trust that as Abraham *composed the variance betwixt his own and* Lots *servants,* Moses *interceded betwixt the Hebrews and* Constantine *betwixt the Ministers of the Kirk: So the Lord shall giue you courage to intercede with his Majestie and his Highnesse fatherly disposition, to set the pillars of the earth that were shaken, and to take off the heavie burthens, the burthensome ceremonies, the burthensome censures, and the burthenous abuses which many haue groaned under: And with a readie and royall hand to quench the beginning fire of deprivation of Ministers by Ministers, of building Gods substantiall Worship by him commanded, and withdrawing from the people the appointed food of their soules, and necessarie meanes of their faith and salvation: of smiting of many a true shepheard, and committing the flocke to many Wolues and blind guides: of leaving the Papists cause, and suppressing*

the best Ministers, Wherely they get rest to mischeife the Kirk, and build up their own Synagogue, and that for the sake of Ceremonies, no more necessarie for the spouse of Christ, then fairding for a chast matron more readie to crosse the commandement of Christ, Wherby We are charged to pray to the Lord of the Harvest, that he would thrust forth labourers into his Harvest, then for the edification of the body of Christ. Thus humbly cõmending the innocencie of our selues petitioners, and our just right and possession of that reformation Which We earnestly crave to be continued to your Honourable charitable judgement; We pray God for Christs sake to enable you to doe that, Which may be acceptable to himself, profitable to his Kirk, and comfortable to your own soules, at that day When We must all appeare before the judgement seat of Christ, that man may receiue the things Which are done to his bodie, according to that he hath done, Whether it be good or ill: and to blesse his Maj. and Royall issue With peace and truth for ever: And your Honours With sound Religion and loyaltie in this life, and endlesse glorie With Christ for ever.

Archipp. The supplication seemeth so reasonable and religious that no man needed to be ashamed to present it, no man could refuse to accept it.

Epaph. It was indeed presented by a faithfull Minister in name of the Kirk, and of his fellow Ministers, in all humility and after the prescribed order, to the hand appointed by Authority, and obliged by office to receiue petitions of that kind from any corporation, or free leige of this Kingdom. But after some refusals and sundry significations of unwillingnes, it was received at last, but subscribed by the Presenter, and with such misregard of the messengers of God, and matters of his Kirk, that he plainly professed his doubting, whether he would exhibit it in Parliament or not. *Relegentem oportet esse religiosum nefas.*

Archipp. Notwithstanding all this diligence in proclamations, conventions, devising and presenting of petitions and supplications the Parliament was not holden then, but in August, what could be in doing in the two monthes interjected? For the estate of Bohemne and the Palatinate abroad cryed to hasten the subsidie for their present succour and safety: And the Parents of Perth Articles at home, longed to see the day when that birth of their braines should be perfected in a Parliament.

Parliament continued.

Epaph. From the first of Iune, which was the appointed day, the Parliament was continued to the twenty three of Iuly, upon what causes in so urgent a necessity upon the one part, and so earnest desire on the other, it belongeth to the search of stately wits. It is well known that the length of secret deliberation and shortnes of open determination is meetest for some matters. And as well known amongst us, that there was als great unwillingnesse to the

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one cause, as affection to the other. But the pretext behoved to attend the intended purpose. And therefore, during this delay, great was the negotiation betwixt the rich Merchants of faire vvords and fine promises, and the hungry servants of lingring hope, who thought it now a fit time to draw up their particulars, and the principall cause in one bargaine, *What Will ye giue me, &c. All these things &c.* Everie wit that had a venale vote, thought at this Market to repaire his losses, to re-edifie his estate upon the ruines of the Kirk, and faire words made fooles faine. Our vigilant Bishops set themselues, and send forth their explorators and Brokers to try the inclinations of Noblemen, Commissioners of Shires, Barones and Burgesses: And as they were found affected, cold, hot or lukewarme, they vvere vvrought upon to bee present, absent, or to resolue vvisely against the day appointed, vvhereby many honest simple soules vvere put to a hard choice, either to perill Religion or to vvant promotion; and so made many to vvrong themselues in forsaking the truth, vvhich vvas in their heart, for hopes, vvhich are never likely to fill their hand. Where the feare of the Leaders of the course vvas greatest, there, albeit vvith a dissembled secrecie greatest confidence vvas professed, by making it come to mens eares privily, that Perth Articles vvould certainly bee ratified, and therefore it vvas needlesse to oppone, vvhich vvent through the Countrie as a Proclamation of victorie to dash some, and as terrours of desperation to make others to crie, *Our opposition Will doe us evill, and the cause no good.* And servile spirits to determine, *Where the mightie, and multitude are, there Will bee bee.* By this crooked policie the sillie simplicitie of many professours rawly resolved to stand in the day of tryall vvas deluded. And Noblemen tempted to lurke in a difficill time, easily obtained licence vvithout great triall of a just cause, as vvhose absence then presence vvas accounted better service.

Nihil magis dissimulare stius tam inimicum quam celeritas.

Qui comid offincostum non exprimunt, benecostum danunt.

Nō minus ego te spe, quam tu me voce tua delectasti.

Archipp. When these two moneths of Preparation vvas thus past, and the purpose matured, vvhether vvas the appointed day observed.

Epaph. As there vvere preparatorie years betwixt Perth Assembly and the Proclamation, and preparatorie moneths betwixt the moneths appointed in the Proclamation and the keeping of the Parliament; so also that the proportion may be full, there were daies of preparation betwixt the day appointed and the riding of the Parliament.

Archipp. Know ye vvhat vvas done in that last time of preparation immediatly going before the work it selfe.

Epaph.

Epaph. Albeit it was not the first, it was not the last: After the long expected comming of his Majesties Commissioner *Iames Marqueshe* of Hammilton, vvho upon the 18 of Iulie, fiue daies before the appointed day of the Parliament, was accompanied vvith divers of the Nobilitie, and some of his own friends (but not so many as would haue vvaited on him vvillingly in a better errand) to Halyroodehouse his Majesties owne palace prepared royally for the Commissioner, according to the affection carried to the commission; a great part of the Nobilitie having feasted withhim that night, upon the morne the 19 of Iulie, he had his first meeting in private with the Officers of Estate, and Plotmaisters of Perth Assembly, vvhere according to their loue to the conclusion and feare of impediments, all their heads were set on vvork for the fore-casting, preventing, or removing opposition and purchasing the victorie: Vpon the 20 day there was an universall Counsell meeting, vvhere all things for peaceable resorting to the Parliament were concluded, and the day destinate prorogated from Monday the 23 till Wednesday the 25, that they might yet once againe assay the foord, fill up holes, and remoue rolling stones before the riding.

Archip. Ye tell me of great preparation againſt the Kirk upon worldly respects on the one side, but I heare of no diligence for the Kirk upon better considerations on the other: In that troublesome time of the vvorld so dangerous for Kirkes, Kingdomes and Common-weales, vvherein all vvits and hearts vvere aloft, and every minde of friend and foe, as he respected the publick estate or his own parricular, vvas bended for his own intention: It seemes ye and others of credit in the Ministerie should not haue been negligent, but at least should haue backed your own supplication, and waited upon the occasions of doing good.

Epaph. Not onely Noblemen, Comissioners of Shriefdomes, Bishops and Burrowes vvere present, but from all the quarters of the Countrie, according to the common libertie so many of the free Lieges of the land, as had to doe in that highest Court. And amongst them multitudes of Ministers, some to be idle beholders of the celebritie, others vvith greater desire of the ratification of their own erronious facilitie, then of the puritie of Gods worship and reformation of the Kirk, Papists of both sorts Iesuites and Dominicanes, vvise in their own generation: It had been a wonder then if there had not resorted thither a number of faithfull Ministers to doe their best Pastorall endevours for the liberty of the Kirk, and at least for manifesting to the after ages, that the truth vvas not altogether deserted to help to make up *Catalogum Testium veritatis.*

Archip.

Archip. Their intereſt was not meaneſt in the eyes of God, neither could that giue juſt offence to any perſon: his gracious Maj. never refuſed that libertie to any of his free ſubjects, not to them at the laſt Parliament, vvhere he vvas preſent in proper perſon.

Epaph. Yet my Lord Commiſſioner, by ſuggeſtion of his vviſeſt counſel, ſearching the ſafeſt vvay for ſucceſſe, had learned that the preſence of the Miniſters might be verie prejudiciall to the ratification of Perth Articles; at leaſt might be a powerfull mean to ſtay many from giving their conſent to the making of ſuch a Law: & therfore, by their advice he findeth it verie ſpeedfull, that theſe Meſſengers of God be ſtraitly charged & commanded by open proclamation at the Market croſſ to paſſe out of the town of Edin.

Archip. That ſeemeth to haue been but a boaſt for their more peaceable behaviour, or for preventing their dealing and ſuſpected Proteſtation; they vvere not called, let be convinced of any fault, and therfore could not be puniſhed vvith deprivation of that libertie, vvhich the verie law of nature yeeldeth, and vvas not denyed to the enemies of Religion and meaneſt of the ſubjects.

Epaph. Yet upon tueſday the 24 of Iuly, the letters vvere execute againſt them allanerly, among all the ſubjects of the Kingdome. Onely there was joyned at the ſame inſtant a Proclamation for bringing in *Allane Machenil Don* chiefe of the Clancamron Laird of Lochaber known for a vvitch and ſorcerer, and declared to be an infamous murtherer, a rebell and deſpiſer of Authoritie: vvhereupon it vvas ordinarie in the mouthes of the people, that the Parliament could not end vvell, becauſe at the beginning therof, they vvere baniſhing God and bringing in the devill: But perhaps ye vvill be as incredulous, as that Papiſt who feared his fellow profeſſors in forrain parts ſhould be, upon the report of that proceeding againſt the paſtors of the Kirke; albeit your incredulitie & theirs ariſe upō diverſe grounds. Ye think it too evil to be true: they will thinke it too good to be true: for one of the Papiſts in the time of the riding of the Parliament burſted out upon the open ſtreet into theſe words with great exultation; *When I come to Rome and Avinjon to report how I haue heard the Miniſters of Scotland diſcharged out of Edinburgh by open proclamation at the Market croſſe in time of Parliament, the newes will be ſo joyfull, that ſcarſly will they bee beleeved by the Catholicks.*

Archip. All goeth wrong, when they rejoyce vvho ſhould be made to weep, & they do weep who ſhould be made to rejoyce: with what colour of pretence could that uncouth proceeding be plaiſtered.

Epaph. He that would haue his dog hang'd will ſoon find a cudgel. One pretence vvas, their abſence from the charge of their flocks, vvherof they are bound before God and man to be diligent Overſeers.

seers. God and the vvorld knowes, whether they who vsed this pretence are carefull of the fidelity of Ministers: whether they or the other sort who were permitted to stay, wait better upon their vocation: and whether it was not a principall point of their charge to attend at such a time, wherin such matters were to be handled, as could not but fall under their own & their peoples practise in the ordinarie worship of God. Another was a shew of mitigation in the end of the Proclamation, excepting so many of the Ministers as might procure a warrant from a Bishop to stay still: that is to say (according to the Bishops own interpretation vvhen some craved leaue of thé) so many as would promise to make no interpellation, intercession private or publicke, nor protestation against their beloved articles, wherof they were so jealous. The third and sidest cloak was the twofold accusation of two brethren in the Ministerie, vvho vvere decerned by the Counsell to be patternes of extremitie and preparatiues of terrour to the rest.

Archip. What accusation meane yee, and of which Ministers?

Epaph. One was of Mr. *Andrew Duncan* minister at Crail (but holden from the function of his Ministerie by the fine craft of a timorous téporizer his cunning collegue, wrestling betwixt the wind of the world, & the waue of his conscience) for presenting the Supplication aboue written; who vvas sent for by the B. of S. androes, & detained by him in his lodging, till he delivered him to the Captain of the guard to be presented that same day afternoone before the Counsel, where compeiring he was accused by the Bishop upon his subscription of the supplication (albeit the B. had spoké nothing of that to him in private when he sent for him) & having acknowledged his hand writ, he declared his readines, at the command of the L. of Counsell, upon assignation of a competent time to produce his warrant of great numbers of Preachers and Professors, in whose name he had subscribed; subjoyning, for stopping the mouth of his accuser that *Cuiuis priuato licet agere causam publicam:* whereupon the B. giues out this sentence, It is thought good ye be committed presently. But because the Defender pleaded the poor mans right: *An non licet cuilibet protestari & mendicare,* The Lords not seeing how they could punish him for such causes, & liking better the innocency of the defender then the iniquity of the accuser, thought meet to cal him in again: where the B. *Vt quæ non prosunt singulis multis iuuent,* first layd to his charge that he had preached in Crail the vveek before, which he confessed: That hee was his Maj. rebel lying at the Horn; he denyed that he was ever at the Horn: That he had broken ward in Dundie: he answered that for obedience he had remained at Dundie the space of half a year upon double charges, being separate from his vvife and six children, the approaching

Winter

Winter made him to draw homeward, thinking that either they had forgot him or would pitty him after so long trouble. Like as he had received a letter from the B. to be at Santand. at a meeting of some Brethren of the Ministers. In end he besought the L. not to imprisone him upon his own charge; & to consider that it vvere greater mercie to kill them vvith the bloudie sword, then to pine them to death vvith hunger. But his doom was dight before his cõpeirance.

Archip. What was the other accusation?

Epaph. Mr. *Alex. Simson* minister at Drieburgh, not having any such intention, was earnestly desired by a brother serving in one of the ordinary places of the Ministers of Edin. to preach for him upon the Saboath, vvhich was the 22 of Iuly immediately going before the day appointed for holding the Parliament. Wherunto he was perswaded upon sufficient reasons alledged by his requester. He Preached upon Ezech. 3. 16 according to his own custom & the present occasion, in the good old Scottish fashion, and not after the new Laodicean forme, more plainly to all then pleasantly to some, & in greater simplicie of heart then vvisedome of words. He spake against the manner of the entrie of many yong men into the holy calling of the Ministerie, against the negligence of watchmen, vvho becausse of the fear of men, of loue to the wages of iniquity, and their own guiltines of the same sin, are silent in censuring the sinnes of others, and especially against the defection of Bish. All which & much more spoken not in a corner, but in the publick audience of so great variety of hearers, as were in that town at that time, I need not record. Vpon the day next following he vvas called before the Counsell, and when he had confessed all that he had preached in publick: At last the former Minister and he vvere convoyed by the guard to the Cannongate, where they were forced to stay that night without libertie to goe to their own lodging place: and upon the morne were led by three of the guard to the Castle of Dunbartane, vvhere they entered upon Thursday Iuly 26.

Archip. I see not how the proclamation could passe with any probabilitie against the whole Ministerie, more upon this pretence then the first: for by vvhat propagation could their personall actions be derived to the rest.

Epaph. Ye vvill know that best, and will be put out of all your doubts, when yee haue seene the Copie of the Proclamation it selfe in these vvords.

Proclamation charging the Ministers to depart out of Edinb.

AT Halyroode-house 23 Iulie 1621. *Forasmuch as it is understood by the Lords of secret Counsell that some restlesse and busie persons of the Ministrie ingrutting the care & charge of their own Kirkes and flocks, over the which they are bound in conscience before God, and in dutie before men to be carefull & diligent Watchmen & Overseers*

haue lately made their redreſſe to this Burrow of Edinburgh, where the Eſtates of the Kingdom in the ſoueraigne and high Court of Parliament are now aſſembled: and that ſome of their Miniſters haue not onely entyred, and in a manner intruded themſelues in the Pulpits thereof, without any lawfull warrant or calling, but in ſtead of wholeſome doctrine for edification of the preſent Auditors, haue fallen out into moſt injurious and undutifull ſpeeches againſt the ſacred perſon of the Kings Maj. labouring thereby, ſo far as in them lay, to poſſeſſe the hearts of the Auditors with ſome bad opinion and conſtruction of his Maj. unſpotted life and converſation. And not content herewith, they haue their priuie Conuenticles and Meetings within this Burrow, haue obtruded themſelues upon ſome of the Eſtates of Parliament, and in publick audience haue prejudged his Maj. moſt religious, ſincere and lawfull proceedings, vſing ſolicitations againſt his Maj. juſt intentions: And haue not onely directly manifeſtly and avouchedly done, what in them lyes, to cal the ſinceritie of his Maj. diſpoſition towards the true Religion in queſtion, but to inculcate and faſten the ſame bad opinion into the hearts of his Maj. good ſubjects, and ſo croſſe and hinder all his Maj. proceedings in the Parliament, which hath no other ayme but the glorie of God, puritie of Religion, and weale of this Kingdome. In which three points, the bypaſt experience of his Maj. happie gouernement will cleare the ſincerity of his Maj. moſt religious diſpoſition towards the glorie of God, and weale of his people, and will vindicate his Majeſtie from the malignant aſperſions of his Majeſties undutifull ſubjects. And whereas this forme of doing in a Kingdome, where the puritie of Religion hath ſuch a free and uncontrouled libertie and progreſſe, as it hath in this Kingdome under his Majeſties moſt godly, wiſe, juſt, and happie gouernement, is not ſuffred nor allowed and hath no warrant of law, cuſtome nor obſeruation elſewhere, but may draw with it many dangerous conſequences, and raiſe up emulation, and diſtaſtes betwixt his Majeſtie and his good people to their danger and harme. Therfore the Lords of ſecret Counſell ordaining letters to be direct to command and charge the whole Miniſters preſently being in this Burrow, except the ordinarie Miniſters of the Burrow, and ſuch others, who upon the notorietie of their lawfull adoes heer, ſhall procure warrant from their Ordinarie, and failing of him from one of the Archb. to remaine and abide ſtill heer, by open Proclamation at the Market croſſe of Edinb. to remoue & depart out of the ſaid Borrow within 24 houres next after the ſaid Charge: & that they nowiſe preſume to repair againe thereunto during the time of this Parliament under pain of rebellion. And if they or any of them faile, the ſaid ſpace being bypaſt, to denounce &c. which denunciation to be vſed at the Market croſſe of Edinburgh ſhalbe as ſufficient, as if it were vſed at the market croſſe of the head Burrow of the ſhire where they dwell: certifying them alſo that their denunciation they ſhall be taken, apprehended, warded and puniſhed accordingly.

Articles

Archip. That is more then ever I looked could haue proceeded from Christian authoritie professing the same reformed religion with us. It was a strong prognostick of great rigor against the persons of the Ministers, and of great preiudice to the cause of religion. What was the resolution of the Ministers?

Epaph. They could not stay against the proclamation; they could not altogether desert the cause in so desperate a time. And therefore finding, that the commissioners of Shires were sent for; and earnestly desired to make knowne their grievances with faire promises of satisfaction, a strong preparation to purge the great matter of all opposition: and that after assayes there was no hope of recalling of the rigor denounced against them; for obedience first to God, and next to God unto his Maiestie: they resolved as followeth.

WEE the Ministers of Iesus Christ in his Highnes kingdome of Scotland, being convened from the quarters of the Countrey to concurre for the weale of the Kirke, and according to the ancient custome thereof observed before in Parliaments, to consult upon Weightie affaires, as the present case requireth consideration: and being charged at the market crosse of Edinburgh to remoue forth of the sayd Borrow within 29 houres immediatly following the sayd charge: as also iustly fearing harder sequells to follow upon such beginnings, haue concluded according to the necessitie layd upon us, to leaue our informations and admonitions to the honorable Lords of Parliament, attesting them in the name of our Lord Iesus, to remember the labours and sufferings of their honorable predecessors: and to doe in the matters in hand, as they would be accepted at his glorious appearance: and praying to the Father of lights, to open their eyes, and to incline their hearts to try things that differ and approue things expedient.

Archip. Informations and admonitions good for them, cannot be evill for me and others: and who knoweth if being represented to them after so many sensible confirmations from heaven and earth, they consider of them more advisedly and unpartially: and so many as haue lost their first loue, remember from whence they are fallen, and doe their first workes.

Epaph. Some preposterously iudge of all reasons by the conclusion, and not of the conclusion by the reasons: others are so obstinatly set against al persuasion, that *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis.* And a third sort close their eyes and ears against all information: they fear that the light of their minde prejudge their affection, and they be made to beleeve that for true, which they wish were false: yet both for their sakes whose repentance wee are seeking, and for your owne and others whom we would confirme, behold some of the many then left behind us.

Reasons left by the ministerie to the members of parliament.

YOur Honors assembled in this present Parliament, ought to abstaine frō ratification and all corroboration whatsoever of Perth Assembly, and Actes thereof, for the reasons following, and many moe alleaged, and to be produced, if your great adoet could permit.

1 It is but an assembly single, and in it selfe divided. 2. In forme of proceeding not onely different from others, but directly against the order established by the kirk. 3. In effect contrarious to all generall and provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions, as they are institute, and have been holden in Scotland since reformation of religion within the same. 4. The carried sentence and actes thereof are repugnant to the forme of religion received, beleeved, professed, established, and defended by this kirke, and whole body of this Realme, by your Honorable predecessors of worthy memorie, and your selues: and practised universally and in the severall paroches of this kingdome these sixtie yeares and aboue. Non est a consuetudine recedendum facile, nisi rationi adversetur; much lesse from a known truth directed and blessed by God in such abundance of benefits as the land hath enioyed with religion. No kirk Protestant nor Lutherane, nor of other profession, Papist, or whosoever will go in a change without some evident (at least apparant) reason of the word. The change but of the old Calendar for the Popes new one (and that is but a small thing) made a great hurly burly both at Riga in Livonia, and at Augusta.

2 Such ratification should crosse and directly preiudice the acts of Parliament 1592. and the provision expressed in the end of the act of Parliament, 1597. And all other acts set downe in favour of the iurisdiction of the kirk, libertie thereof, assemblies, and discipline. Item, his Maiesties proclamation published and printed at command of his Counsel 1605. Item, the protestation made at Perth, 1606, and all others made before and since. Item, the covenant made by the ministers and professors of this kingdome, 1596 and 1597, and all other bands, whereby Pastors and flockes have oblished themselves in persons and continuall practise to stand to the forme of religion received and practised, Tales legum mutationes would prove legum vulnera. Quæ in suo statu, eademque manent etsi deteriora sunt, tamen vtiliora sunt. Reipub. quam quæ per renovationem vel meliora inducuntur. And with what credit and constancie could your Honors confirm separation from your fathers, and the break of ancient vnitie & conformitie with your own kirk, where it may be truely sayd. Melius atq; rectius olim provisum, & quæ conuertuntur, in deterius mutantur.

3 The reformers of this kirk, and such as by a long continuance follow them, laid a sure foundation and builded upon the same without errour, notwithstanding of difficile times; It were our wisdome to go forward & not backward, to strengthen and not to weaken. David left not the ark where Saul left it, nor Salomon where David. If our fathers were in the way, our change is errour and out of the way: And shall we say now,

our sound & ancient profession is priscus rigor, cui jam pares non sunt homines. *Constantines course was more commendable,* Perfecit Constantinus quod Philippus jam cæperat. *It were our dutie, if our forebeears had done wrong to practise the rule,* Quæ illicita à Prædecessoribus inveniuntur admissa, in melius revocari oportet.

4 *Observation of dayes, kneeling, &c. as they are straitly enioyned, are voyd of the necessarie properties required by the wisest fathers in a lawfull ceremony,* ut fidei congruat, saluti proficiat, disciplinæ conducat, *So in this kirk neither are they necessary, expedient, nor fitting the frame of our reformation; they edifie not, they divide and destroy, in so far as ceremonies being* testes religionis, *they are signes to the adversaries of the truth, that we repent our reformation, which is not, and presages to returne to their damned corruptions, which by the grace of God wee meane not in substance or ceremony. To reinduce them, say the divines of Germany, is to disturbe the peace of the kirk, to grieve the godly, to wound the weak, to countenance Poperie, by shew of inclination towards it, or commoderation with it In neighbour kirks, where they most prevaile, their removall is most earnestly sought.*

5 *In Perth assembly they are concluded not as lawes binding either to fault or pain, but as admonitions or institutions.* Magnum est discrimen inter ecclesiastica decreta & politica, quorum necesse est illa minus obstringere conscientias. Nam in ecclesiasticis spectanda est *lomba.* In politicis autē parendū est, quamvis tu eam cutaxiam non videas. *Such ceremonies are* juris privati non publici. *Ilk man is bound in conscience by the word first to discern what is indifferent, and then to direct himself in the right vse of every individuall thing for his own edification: And if ministers and professors be restrained from that search, and brought under a compelled obedience by the law, that were to revive the ancient servitude of the Germaine Adiaphorisme, wherewith the godly would never suffer themselves to be intangled.* Nulla lex sibi solam conscientiam justitiæ suæ debet, sed ijs a quibus obsequium exspectat.

6 *Our forebeears finding the controverted ceremonies to be the mouse-webs of Popery, & like the mowdiworts in Thessaly, that overthew a whol towne,* Quod in Papatu dolendum, in reformatione auferendum putarent, *They not onely took away Baal, but the calves of Dan and Bethel. They thought it no wayes meet to follow Pilats policie to please the Iewes with scourging of Christ, that they might keep him alive. And will the Papist be pleased with scourging the doctrine by invections, &c. And taking against some of these ceremonies, will that preserve us against their heat breathed out against us as heretikes, and make us lurke under mitigation, as if we were now but schismatikes.* Non est ad hunc modum in religione agendum, (*sayth one*) tota enim repurganda est & ad vivum emendanda. *And another sayth:* Atqui præstaret se pultam esse doctrinam ad tempus, quam sic flagellari.

It is to be feared, that before it be long, that men disaffected to the ancient order, shall further presume ere it be long, to giue out other doctrine as well as new ceremonies.

7 Ratification would compasse a great many Ministers and professors of this Kirk between two dangerous straits; either to practise against the truth, as they understand it, and haue walked in it, and against the personall bands, whereby they haue obliged themselues to stand constantly to the obedience of it, or else to fall under the breach of a ciuill law more hardly perhaps to be persued, then the lawes against heresie, blasphemie, breaking of the sabboth day, &c. In such a case as wee are alwayes ready in our goods and bodies to the increasing and upholding of his maiesties honour, and estate, so according to our possibilitie, and the occurrent necessitie of his Highnesse affaires, we cheerfully offer our best supplies and helpe. And for ease of our iust grieuances, and feares of our Christian libertie from constraint of ceremonies, we humbly beg to haue returned ratification of our ancient liberties of religion. Ceremonies should bee persuaded by reason, and not inforced by compulsion. Propter externos ritus disciplinæ homines pios ferire, neque domini est voluntas neque purioris Ecclesiæ mos. *In the name of the Lord Iesus wee require your Honours, that at this time ye walk in the matters of the kirk, as one day ye shall be iudged dutifull according to the Scriptures following: Beware of men, beware of euill workers. Let no man beguile you with entising words. Stand fast in the faith, quit you like men. Be strong. Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, and bee not intangled againe with the yoak of bondage. Hold fast the forme of sound words. That good thing which is committed unto thee, keepe. Contend earnestly for the faith which was once giuen to the Saints. Seing ye know these things before, beware lest yee fall from your owne stedfastnesse. Strengthen the things which remaine that are ready to die. Remember how thou hast receiued and heard. And hold fast and repent. If thou watch not, I will come upon thee suddenly, like a thiefe in the night, and thou shalt not know what houre. They haue no courage for the truth upon earth,* Ierem. 9. 3.

Five reasons wherefore the fiue Articles of Perth ought not to be ratified in this present Parliament.

Other reasons.

First, because that assembly was not lawfully constitute, wanting a fundamentall priuiledge of a lawfull assembly, in respect that contrary to the act of the generall Assembly holden anno 1600, and anno 1568, Bishops, Barons, and Burgesses voted, not being authorized with Commissioners from Synods, Presbyteries nor Sessions of Kirks. His maiesties letter direct to particular Barons and Burgesses, without commission from their incorporations, could not giue them vote in Parliament, much lesse in the generall Assembly.

Secondly,

Secondly, putting the case that those Articles were indifferent, yet the Assembly hath erred, in respect it hath concluded contrary to the Apostolick rule in things indifferent, which is, that the practise should not onely not compell him that for conscience refuseth to practise, but also, least hee offend him, should forbeare to practise himselfe, Propter conscientiam non tuam sed ipsius dico, 1. Cor. 10. 29. *If thy brother be grieved for thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably, destroy him not for thy meat for whom Christ hath died,* Rom. 14. vers. 15.

Thirdly, because the foresaid Articles being determined in alteram partē per circumstantias impeditivas *in themselues are unlawfull. The observation of it drawing with it a revolt and returning back againe to Popish rites and ceremonies; a violation of our profession, subscriptions, and othes, whereby we renounced them; a confirming of Papists in their errours, and putting them in hope of our comming to them in more substantiall poynts; a grieving of the hearts of all zealously affected; a preparatiue in the hearts of the commontie (who measure religion more by the externall maske of ceremonies, then by substantiall poynts of doctrine) to the receiving againe of whole Poperie; a terrible renting of this kirke, inducing Atheisme in place of Religion, the people not knowing what to beleeue, and seeing the observation of Yuile obtruded, which before discharged by Act of Parliament in all pulpits of Scotland was sufficiently declared to bee the invention and tradition of man, to bee will worship, superstition, entertaining the people in an errour anent the the birth of Christ, leading them to all sort of excesse and profanation, and Geniculation the first of the 15 ceremonies of the Masse,* teste Bellarmino, *a gesture invented and ordained onely by Antichrist more then 1300 yeares after Christ, as the principall externall worship of their breaden god now inforced in the celebration of the Lords supper, under pretence of indifferencie, more reverence and humilitie. As though we were not forbidden* præcepto negativo, *to presume to giue or receiue the communion more reverently then Christ and his Disciples did, or that we were not commanded* præcepto affirmativo, *to imitate Christ in all his religious actions neither miraculous nor admirable, nor having a particular reason restricting them to that time: as though we were not warranted* præcepto comparativo *rather to imitate Christ with a table gesture in that holy banquet, then Antichrist with a gesture of adoration inductiue to Idolatry: or as though a man were able to give a reason why the surplice, the crosse, and the elevation of the bread may not as well be received (being of more antiquitie) and if the Minister having a surplice with crossing elevat the bread, and the people bow their knee, what want we of a Masse,* Vbi semelde erratum est, in præceps devenitur.

Fourthly, because if the high commission bee imboldened by ratification

fication of this Parliament to deprive Ministers, that will stand out against these ceremonies, being the greatest number of the best qualified, most painfull and fruitfull of their calling within the land, what a lamentable desolation shall it draw upon this Church? what a wound shall it be to every godly heart to see their faithfull Pastors deprived, warded, and banished for giving the communion as Christ gave it, and refusing to give it after the forme of Antichrist? Is this a time to obtrude Antichristian ceremonies in the kirk, when the bloody sword of Antichrist is embrewed in the blood of so many thousand protestants in France and Germanie.

Lastly, because it was never seen, that this Parliament confirmed the acts of any assembly, which they knew was called in question, not onely by a great number of the speciall of the ministerie, but also by the greatest part of the most zealous professours of the whole body of the kingdome, as is manifest by the practise of Edinburgh sticking the Lords supper in thousands without the citie.

An admonition to the well affected Nobilitie, Barons and Burgesses, Commissioners in this present Parliament.

Admonitions to the same effect.

DOE not your Honours now at last perceive, how mightily the Mysterie of iniquitie, the spirit of Antichrist, the power of darknesse and delusion prevailes among st us in the judgement of God; presuppose not in the intention of man, which we presume not to search, but leave to the Lord the searcher of hearts. If Papists goe free, who used to be fined, if professors be counted Puritanes, and religion disgraced, if patrons of Poperie be set at libertie, and the faithfull committed, if Seminarie Priests goe abroad, and true Pastors be confined and imprisoned, if sea-ports be patent to forraine Papists and banished Ministers lye unrecalled, if sundry statesmen be small friends to true profession, and not unfriends to Papistry, if time servers and men pleasers usurpe commission for Christs kirk being her greatest enemies, if Papists do incroach and professors grow cold. If it be discharged that search be made for masspriests, or that these foxes being discovered, should be apprehended as your honours may try, whose intelligence is better, is not there the sound of the sound of the feet of Popery at the doores, whereunto the Lord hath long threatned to cast us. The discipline of Christs kirk is already wherein destroyed, and turned Antichristian by the usurpation and tyranny of our Prelats. The worship of God is next, and now among your hands which if ye suffer to be polluted by the Romish leaven of their unhallowed rites, as sundry of the ministery unwisely have done, we may iustly feare the corruption of doctrine, and so all is gone.

Consid-

Conſider then, that the touchſtone to try your loue to the truth, is at this time, the act concerning theſe curſed ceremonies, counted indifferent by many, but in effect pernicious, the bringing back again thereof by the confeſſion of all, even of the vrgers, is at leaſt vnneceſſary and vntimous, and ſo in religion abhominable and impious. But if we will ſay the truth, it is 1. a returning vnto the dogg to the vomit, 2. to Papiſts and profeſſours ſcandalous, 3. contrary to the Word, as is largely proven by ſundry, and ſo preſumptuous, 4. in regard of the preſent vſe, whatſoeuer they are received, proving ſuperſtitious, 5. by reaſon of the oath of God, which hereby is deſpiſed, blaſphemous, 6. in regard of the conſequences damnable and diueliſh, and for the manner of their eſtabliſhing by violence and craftines, to all them who haue eyes, odious. Which, as your honours in Gods mercie haue marked, ſo haue you done well that being priuily tried, yee haue not diſſembled your diſlike both of the cauſe, and the crooked conuoy of it. For well might ye know, when ſupplicants were ſent to priſon, and truth was miſconſtrued and counted treaſon; when Miniſters were diſcharged off the towne for feare of requeſting your Honours to ſtand for the Lord, little good was to be looked after ſo godleſſe a beginning. It reſts now, that ye be conſtant and ſetled in the loue of the truth. By threatnings, by allurements, by hopes, by feares touching your ſelues and your faithfull paſtors, and other endleſſe wayes of darkneſſe they ſtudie to draw away and divert you either to make you vote againſt Chriſt, or to be Neutralls and Nonliquets; or to ſlide away and denie your preſence by one meanes or other, to draw you under the curſe of Meroz, for not helping the Lord againſt the mightie. But the buſier they are, the leſſe freedome in this Parliament; the leſſe worth in their cauſes, the greater is your triall, who ſtand to give teſtimonie to Chriſt, your faith the more pretious, and your reward the more glorious. For God hath ſayd, Hee that overcommeth ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne. Rev. 21. 8. But the fearfull (*that is, ſuch who for feare of man dare not giue teſtimony to the truth of God*) and the vnbeleeving, &c. ſhall haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.

Another Admonition.

PLeaſe your Honours take heed what you doe at this peremptor time concerning the eſtabliſhing of the vnlawfull act of the pretended aſſembly of Perth. Chriſt hath put his cauſe in your hands, be faithfull now or never. Beware of bringing back and caſting in again of this ſtumbling block. The glory of God, the ſtanding of the kirk of this land, your owne ſoules, and the ſoules of many thouſands, for whom Chriſt Jeſus died, is now in hazard, and depends much (if ye look to outward meanes) vpon your fidelitie, whereof ye ſhall not want witnes neither in heaven nor

earth. The eyes of men and Angels are upon you, the eyes of those who mourne for the miseries of Gods kirk are longing for comfort from you. And the great iudge of the World, the almightie our God, whose eyes are all a fluming fire, doe behold every mans part in this present Parliament. Your votes, your actes, your names shall be registrate to all posterity. Ponder therefore the weight of the cause wherewith ye meddle, and the fearfull inconveniences which doe accompany & shal follow the ratification of the act of that pretended assemblie, that will befall the kingdom of Christ, his ministery, the best part of sincere professors, your friends & familiars, your children & posterity, and it may be also your owne persons both spiritually & civilly. For if, according to your place, in prudent & humble maner yee do not resist the establishing of that act by all lawfull meanes, yee cannot cleanse your selves of despising the oath and covenant of God solemnly sworne and subscribed by all estates, and of drawing down the undoubted curse of God, which hastens now to come upon us. Ye cannot be guiltles of encouraging and emboldening the Papists to higher attempts then wee are ware off; yea and of the greeving of the hearts of the kings best subiects, of brangling their faith, and casting them in perplexitie how to serve both God & their native king. Ye cannot be guiltlesse of the thrusting out of faithfull ministers, and bringing in of yong boyes, hirelings and time servers to the overthrow of the Gospel, & slaughter of souls. Ye cannot misse to draw the Whole land in a snare, and in special the weaker Christians, who by the force of civil law must either suffer their guides to become a prey to worse subiects then themselves, or at least their meanes and estates to be so pilled and impaired by fines and penalties, as in a short time they shall neither be able to serve their king, their countrey, nor their own necessities, or else to controll and enthrall their consciences to the destruction of their soule. Now is the time wisely to prevent these things, which if ye doe, time shall approve you, God and good men shall acknowledge you in this poynt, better Christians, better Statesmen, better servants of God, more loyall and wise subiects to the king, better friends to kirk & commonweale, then they who upon whatsoever pretences shall either urge or yeeld to the contrarie. Resist therfore the establishing of ceremonies, as a reentrie of Papistrie. Our neighbour countrey grones under the yoak which now is presented again to their necks, and would redeeme the libertie which you have had, and yet in some measure enjoy. It cost your predecessors many a tear with God, & their uttermost endevors with men to purchase & transmit this liberty unto you; and Christ hath bought it with his blood for you. Count not so lightly of it, as to loose it for a moment, but stand fast in that liberty wherwith Christ hath made you free, and be not intangled again with the yoake of bondage. Good subiects have no iust cause to fear the offence of a good king in maintaining Gods right and their owne, so long as their cause is honest, and their defence lawful. Stand therfore for the truth, & confesse Christ before men, as ye would that he should confesse you before the father.

Archip.

Archip. If they had taken time to ponder your reasons and exhortations, I cannot think that they could haue resisted so great evidence of truth so powerfully expressed. But what resolution was taken in case all these meanes should faile?

Epaph. The Ministers resolved upon the last remedie: a Protestation vvhich they left behind them in these words.

MAy it please your Honours in this present Parliament, assembled under the right high and excellent Maj. of our deer & dread Sov. We haue now before our eyes the foreseen and foretold bitter fruits of these alterations of the Kirk, and just fear of further evils to ensue upon such dangerous beginnings, so much the more, as Wee are deprived of that ordinarie and general Assembly Whereunto properly belongs to propone at Parliament the Kirk affaires. And although for supplement of that pittifull defect, in humble manner We did offer our reasonable supplication, conform to his High. proclamation, We can haue no place to be heard in our lawfull and religious desires. In this hard and heavie case the sensible danger of our untimous silence in these daies of the growth of som decay of grace, contempt of the Gospell, & troubles abroad moved for the most part by the patrons of that bloudy Coūcel of Trent, & the conscience of our inevitable cōpearance before the judgment seat of Christ, to giue an account of our stewardship, compels us, as frō high extremitie, to declare to your H: our bounden & harty affection, to hold fast that ancient faith & forme of Religion, received, beleeved and defended by the Kirk of Scotl. the King Maj. and Estates, the Whole bodie of this Realm, your forebeers of Worthy memory, and your selues; as Gods eternal truth & onely ground of our salvation, and of our high peace and prosperity, by Gods undeserved mercie so long continued: as also our unfeigned detestation of all formes & ceremonies, many or few, that enemies of the truth may cast in our teeth as signes of repentance of our reformation, or any part therof, and presages to them of our return to their damned superstition, either substance or ceremonies therof. And likewise in the name of Iesus Christ, Who shall render to every one, that Which he hath done in the flesh, to require your Honn: to stand stedfastly for the said ancient Religion, forme of doctrine, Sacracraments & Discipline, as they haue been ministred in this Kirk ever since the Reformation of Religion, for the jurisdiction and libertie of the true Kirk, generall and provincial Assemblies, Presbyteries & Sessions, as they are established by the Kirk, and lawes of this Kingdome, and against all usurpation and corruption of spiritual government, and unnecessary Ceremonies, as the fiue Articles of Perth Assembly, and Whatsoever is as aples of strife, and deadly destroyers of the kirk of Iesus Christ.

Protestatiō to the Parliament.

Otherwise, if it shall happen (as God forbid) that any matter be propounded, put in article, or concluded in this present Parliament, in prejudice of the said Religion, & acts of Parliament past in favors of the same, With sorrow, and sore against our harts We will be constrained to use the remedy

of Proteſtation. Like as adhering to the proteſtations made to the Parliament holden at Perth in the yeare of God 1606, *and to the Proteſtation vſed in the laſt Parliament holden at Edinburgh, and to all other Proteſtations Whatſoeuer made in fauour of this Kirk, and againſt all hurts and injuries intended againſt the ſame. By theſe preſents, We ſolemnly proteſt all, and Whatſoeuer Articles, Acts, and others Whatſoeuer ſhall be propouned, concluded and publiſhed in or from this preſent Parliament in prejudice of the iuriſdiction and libertie of the Kirk, Aſſemblies thereof, order eſtabliſhed, or any part thereof; or in fauours of vſurped gouernement and damned Hierarchie, of Ceremonies and alterations Whatſoeuer, concerning the miniſtration of the Sacraments, or any other point, or practiſe of diſcipline receiued in this Kingdome. And for due execution hereof Wills and requeſt our Welbeloued Brother to ſubſcribe, and to preſent the ſame, as officers in open face of Parliament, to the Lords of Articles being conuened, and, if need bee, to affixe the ſame vpon the Parliament houſe dore, or Market croſſe of Edinburgh. To the effect, that our reaſonable diſſaſſent from all and Whatſoeuer, may in any ſort preiudge the forme of Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome, may be notorly knowen. At Edinburgh the* 25 *day of July* 1621.

Archip. Ye haue ſhewed me euident teſtimonies of their fidelitie, vvhich maugre oblivion and malice vvill bide after them, vvhen they are gone out of this vvorld, as they left them behind, vvhen they vvere put out of that Town: I would now know vvhat vvas the ſucceſſe.

Epaph. The former reaſons and admonitions took impreſſion in many hearts, few vvere in any doubt vvhat to doe, if they had been left to their own libertie: for there was not one vvho either reſpected theſe fiue Articles for their own good qualitie, or for the Kirks authoritie: neither ever to this day were they honoured with the name of an Act of the generall Aſſembly, but beare the note of baſeneſſe in the title of Articles. All the perplexity was, vvhat to doe in ſo great extremitie and urging importunitie: for the Maſters of vvork, both for compaſſing the purpoſe, and keeping themſelues from cenſure, ſet their wits by all meanes to vvorke ſo many, as they might, to be of their mind. And for this effect there vvas no ſmall buſineſſe in the beginning to ſingle out and ſet inclinable Lords and Noblemen, and ſo to make way for their Election, who vvere to ſit upon the Articles, that therby might be gained in hope of further victorie thirty and two Votes at leaſt in their iudgement, vvho had made proſperous tryall of ſuch cunning firſt at Perth: and now, knowing vvith vvhom they dealt, had no leſſe hope of ſucceſſe here.

Archipp. That would ſeeme to be like the policie of our late Eccle-

Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies, in choſing of the privie conference. But after ſo full preparation, vvhether vvas the day appointed for holding the Parliament now at laſt obſerved vvith the vvonted ſolemnitie?

Epaph. It vvas; for upon Wedneſday the 25 of Iuly 1621 at the Palace of Halyroode-houſe, there is firſt a Majeſticall appearance of high honour and ſplendor glancing from that glorious convention prepared for the ſacred and high Court of Parliament, the moſt excellent perſon of the mightie King and Head of this Monarchie, being reſembled by the potent and noble Lord *Iames* Marqueſſe of Hammilton his Highneſſe Commiſſioner, and the Eſtates of Parliament ranked according to the worth of their perſons, and the deſerved and unſpotted dignitie of their places. And then they marched in ſtate from the ſaid palace with honours borne according to the cuſtome of this ancient Kingdome, the *Crown* by the Earle of Angus; the *Scepter* by the Earle of Marr, the *Sword* by the Earle of Rotheſſe to the Parliament houſe, where they entred and ſet themſelues in their honourable places, neither Papiſts nor any other ſort of perſons deſirous to heare and ſee, being excluded. Riding of the Parliament.

Archipp. Why paſſe yee the Prelacie, vvho of dutie ought to haue beene firſt remembred in this their owne Ceremoniall Parliament.

Epaph. Neither ye nor I can remember them vvith ſuch acclamation of ioy, as a Papiſt did, who before many Gentlemen cryed aloud in the ſtreet vvith lifted up hand directing his ſpeech to the Biſhop of Santandroes. *God bleſſe you my Lord, vvith all your Brethren and fauourers of your courſe; for you and they are furthering the vvay to content his Majeſtie, and vs all that are Catholickes, vvhich God proſper, and none reſiſts, except a number of evill diſpoſed Miniſters.* But the clamour of the multitude, and the accuſtomed noiſe at ſuch times ſuppreſſed the bablings of the ſeditious Paraſite, and buried them in their eares vvho vvere neereſt unto himſelfe.

Archipp. Seeing Papiſts tooke the boldneſſe both to ſpeak upon the ſtreet, and to be preſent in the houſe, modeſt Miniſters would haue been overſeen, notwithſtanding of the ſtraitneſſe of the Proclamation againſt them.

Epaph. Yet there vvas ſpeciall care recommended to the double guard vvithout and vvithin, and as great attendance given that no Miniſter vvanting the Biſhops licence ſhould be ſuffered to enter. And after that the members of the Parliament vvere placed, a ſecond ſearch made for Miniſters, that if any had been permitted to enter, they might be removed.

Archip. How can yee be able to lead me through to the end, ſeeing

seeing ye were neither an actor, nor permitted to be witnesse of the remanent proceeding?

Epaph. The Lydian ring is worne away long since. Any of the beholders could relate all that vvas done openly: every one of the members of the Court could not see vvhat vvas done secretly. Lookers on many times see more then gamesters; and in the vale the hill is best seen.

Archip. If ye take upon you to tell me the truth, I will cease to be curious about the mean of your information: vvhat was done in that first meeting.

Speeches in the house of Parliament.

Epaph. First the B. of Santandroes after a verie short prayer, read a part of Scripture, Rom. 13. 7. and delivered a discourse chiefly intending to perswade the taxation. After him my Lord Commissioner had a speech, declaring to the Estates his Maj. great and extraordinary troubles, and continuall deburſements in supporting the King of Boheme, his Queen, & their mother, and in continual sending of Embassadors to France, Germany and Spaine to travel for peace among the Christian Princes, besides the extraordinary aids given to the Germane Princes to retain them vvithin the compasse of the band of friendship and alliance, the charges of maintaining a sea Navie under the conduct of Sir *Robert Mansfield;* adding also that his Maj. sustained and suffered more for the persecutions & afflictions of the Protestants, and for the defence of the Reformed Kirk then all the Princes in the world besides, with divers other insinuations to perswade a large supply: And for furtherance therof his L. professed to haue vvarrant to giue vvay to any good advice, wherby mony might increase & abound among us after the taxation. His L. spake for the fiue Articles under the name of matters of Kirk Discipline, that had been concluded in former Assemblies, practised in the Primitiue Church, not forbidden by the word of God, & so able to be defined by the Prince, who hath lawful power to command in matters indifferent. He doubted nothing of their good affection, & concourse to the good advancement of so necessary a service, as was then in hand. And for himself he should striue to let his Maj. know every mans part: & he for his part would contribute his best endevours to a good successe. In the third place my Lord Chancellour had his *Quanquam*, wherin he spake to the honour of the audience, the quality of the *Solium Regale*, where the Commissioner sate, the persons vvho were members of that Assembly severally, giving every one his own due, & with repetition of some things touched by the Cõmissioner & the Bish. of S. androes, cõcerning the necessity imposed upon our liberality, & experience to giue way to the Church ordinances, fetching some conclusion from old judgement of *Rex* and *Seruius* in the person of *Numa:*

he

he ended with an exhortation to the Lords, to goe cheerfully and with a good mind to the election of the Lords of Articles.

Archip. Never was *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, *Marcebeus*, never *Codrus*, *Thrasybulus*, nor *Themistocles*, or any Grecian, Romane, or Iew, so much obliged for their Countrey, as these three persons for the defence and maintenance of the true Religion, and common estate of Scotland; of the priviledges, lawes and liberties pertaining to the one and the other: they being debters to the Kirk and Commoo-weale of their life, liberty, honourable places and callings, of their present condition and future expectation: and lying under the obligation of birth, education, imitation of their honourable predecessours, of their offices, personall promises, and whatsoever other obligatorie respects: And therefore it cannot be but in the midst of so many dangers present and imminent, they behoved to say something, both for testifying their hearty affections, and for the weale of the Realme.

Epaph. That was not their errand, and had been a contradiction to the other part of their speech, and to their following actions: and therefore without further mention of publicke matters, or any insinuation of their oblished affection to their spirituall mother the Kirk crying for their help; or to their naturall mother the Countrey trembling under the burthen of divers calamities, and under the terrours of forrain feare, the actions of the utter house were closed for that time.

Archip. Was there no further done that day for advancement of the purpose?

Epaph. Nor so much in shew, as that vvhich is done, but more in substance. For the Lord Commissioner, the Nobility and Prelates, with Chancellour, Treasurer, Secretarie, and Clerke Register, Officers of Estate, the life and leaders of this compend of the Kingdome, went into the inner house, for election of the LL. of Articles, not after that most free forme beseeming Parliaments and Counsels, where choice is made of persons most indifferent, of best judgement, and no way partially affected to any partie, or restrained to the loue of any cause, but by some learned oblivion of this most reasonable rule, and by some new law, bid custom and singular practick, for performing of the most free, harmelesse and innocent part of this high action, the election of the Lords of Articles proceeded in another sort. Election of the Lords of Articles, and their proceedings

Archip. Ye are now upon the *primum mobile*, the secret wheeles, which guide the hand and hammer without: and therefore remove the cover, that I may see the beginning of the motion.

Epaph. The Bishops who from their first fabrick haue founded many ill houres to this Kirk and Countrey, continually behaving them-

themselues as Peeres of the Kingdome, professed parties against the Ministers and Discipline, and as partiall Iudges and led Witnesses, when questions concerning Ministers or Kirk government did occurre: or where opposition was to be made to matters proponed in prejudice of the one and the other, they went to their roomes, and were not onely silent contrary to the debt of their places: but all singing one song, the rest following the first, in a reasonlesse harmony rare to be found in *Paris*, *Venice*, or the most famous Counsells in the world: they did choose those eight of the Nobility, *Angusi*, *Mortoun*, *Nithesdail*, *Wigtoun*, *Roxburgh*, *Buckclugh*, *Scone*, *Carnegie*: and these made eight of the Bishops, *Sant Androes*, *Glasgow*, *Dunkeld*, *Aberdeen*, *Brechin*, *Dumblane*, *Argyle*, *Orkney*: and these altogether did choose eight Barones and eight Burgesses. A faire election of foure eights, receiving their names from the chieff of the song, and inspired with the concord of the first eight, who would bee loath to choose any different from their owne minde, and of the second eight conforme to them.

Archip. Was there never a note out of tune?

Epaph. By providence two notes of the third eight, and one of the fourth jarred a little to make the melodie of the whole the more sensible to the eares of the hearers by their irregularity. Finally, for augmenting the number of fair drawn voters, the seven Officers of Estate, *Chancellour*, *Treasurer*, *Secretar*, *Privie-seale*, *Iustice Clearke*, *Advocate*, and *Clearke Register* are adjoyned; all faithfull servants, and loath by crossing or comming in the contrary of present intentions, to perill their liberall pensions, their great Offices, their present imployments, and hopes of higher preferment.

Archip. That election so enlarged and qualified with those last seven, is a strong first fell, and a great conquest of votes in favours of chiefe desires.

Epaph. Yet it is not quarrelled here, as in former times, when mens own particulars were in hand. Then presence was weak, now absence is strong. What Prince and prelate could not work when Kirk rent sacrilegiously possessed was but under feare of quarrell, now in these Halcion daies, when mens particulars are out of feare, Politickes and Prelates can easily bring to passe, and so the first strength of the Parliament is taken in presage of expected victorie.

Archip. No marvell, for the case is altered. Which was the first meeting of the Lords, I may say, of the fiue Articles thus elected?

Epaph. Vpon Thursday the 26 of July, after the Cabinet Coun-

Counsell, vvhich daily met in the Abbay by five in the morning and sate vvhile nine, to dresse and dispose matters to be done in such a course, as might leade most easily to the destinate end.

Archip. Those Lords of Articles convened did they enter at their first meeting upon the five Articles?

Epaph. The Kirk is prejudged heere of her ancient priviledge, to her great losse, and they, that all matters may be rightly tymed, are wisely directed to treat of the matter of Taxation in the first place: because so many as vvere affectioned to liberty from Ceremonies, under that hope would be easily induced to a large subsidie, vvherein they had perhaps been found lesse willing, or more hardly disposed, if they had not looked to decline that bondage. When the taxation vvas concluded then vvere brought in into the second place the matters of the Kirk.

Archip. Yet considering the oppositions justly made against these Articles at Perth; the violent and crooked wayes, vvherby they vvere rather forced and imposed, then concluded vvith consent, as reason and the custome of the Kirkes craved; the hard practises past against certain honest Ministers, and great discontentment universally in the Country tending to dangerous distractions for refusall of a sort of obedience, vvhich is no vvaies directed by the act it self, nor not once motioned, but greatly feared, when they vvere so eagerly dealt for, and now, when the just fear of more desperate inconveniences, and the conscience of the calling of God did inforce to try the difference betwixt an act, or rather an advice of the Kirk simple and free of all sanction or censure, to be imposed upon the Contraveeners, and a law of authority which may be made vigorous and forcible by the hand of the Magistrate for arbitrarie execution against innocent and harmelesse Pastors, and people uncapable of these practises by reason of personall restraint and perswasion of their own minds to the contrary, I can hardly be induced to thinke howsoever nothing vvas spoken in the face of the Parliament, yet now in private amongst themselues, they vvill peremptorily determine, without due deliberation at last, if not for purging the humour, yet for snibbing the Canker to prevent utter consumption, their care will be more bended there then in all other matters.

Epaph. Your commendable judgement of charity tels you, what should be done, but verity must tell vvhat vvas done. At the incomming of the Article of the taxation, the Lord Commissioner spake as before, to further, upon the ordinary and extraordinary taxations, proportions therof, & questions moved anent the exemption and priviledges of the Lords of Session, which being matters touching

touching mens persons and their worldly particulars, are attended diligently, a large time by the space of whole three daies spent in reasoning, voting, preferring petitions, receiving answeres, and setling conditions in favour of men fearing their own hurt. Nothing concluded but with great advisement and very circumspectly. But the other being matters of Religion touching men in their conscience, and the Kirk in her peace, as things indifferent were quickly and smoothly past in verie short space without search of any of your many difficulties, albeit with seene opposition and dissassent of so many, as in the providence of God might in such a time and place beare witnesse to the truth.

Archip. Was the consent of the Lords of the Articles of such force, that there was no hope of remedy afterwards.

Epaph. By ordinary custome of former times, purposes once past in the Articles haue good appearance to goe through at Parliament. But the Plot-masters of the fiue Articles; partly through feare of hard successe, which they had certainely found by suddain voting in publick; and partly to keep their own plantation free of disgracefull opposition, and themselues with their Associates from the blame of madnesse by the multitude of companions, they dare not hazard at the first; but resolue to hold the Parliament sitting and the Lords of the Articles doing for some daies, till they can see a faire day for conclusion through the stormes of common rumour, and diligent travels of many then set to opposition.

Policies making way for conclusions.

Archip. What was the task of the Lords of Articles during that large time; for the Parliament was not closed till the 4 of August?

Epaph. After some particulars of private men; they were set to hunting, hauking, fowling &c. to make some sumptuarie lawes against banquetting, and some vestiary against Passments silk &c. for prolonging time, when their minds were upon nothing lesse then upon that pastime.

Archip. What cunning vvas used in the meane time for contriving the conclusion?

Epaph. Ye know that it is taught by the Masters of Policy, that they who would worke men to their purpose, must either haue some knowledge of their inclinations, and so perswade them: or their infirmities and feares, and so awe them, or of those who haue the government of them, and so rule them. And at this time the very profundities of our homely policies were opened up, *tanquam pro aris & foris.*

Archip. But I know that Commissioners of Parliament should

be men of another mettall. He that willeth Christians to be innocent as Doues in their dealing with others, warneth them also to be as wise as serpents in the dealing of others with them.

Epaph. Yet some are so possest with a prejudicate opinion, that they thinke all sincerity and conscience, either to be pretended onely, as it is too often, or to proceed out of phantasie, simplicitie of manners, and inexperience of the affaires of the world; So that in their estimation, confirmed by so many instances, as may make up more then one experience, no man almost is so nice, but he may be talked with, if he be taken on the right side. Vpon this ground the solistations, protestations, and promises of great reward, often used since the beginning of the Parliament are here againe enlarged amply, and engyred finely for soupling such with sweeties, as they take to be Minnies mouthes. And for the hopefull generation of greater spirits, whether thinking by contradiction to ascend, or straited with their own necessities, there were dressed large promises of great rewards for service to be done at this time, with great enforcements of nodds and complements of the most significant sort for bewitching the eyes of the good Gentlemen to apprehend felicity in their own facility, and their standing or falling in the verball insinuations of their said friends.

ζηματα ζημιαν ἀφορμας ἀπορρητα ἀπορρητα ἀπορρητα ἀπορρητα.

Maxima pars hominū hunc habet morem, quod sibi volunt, dum id impetrant bonis sunt, sid id ab, penes se habent ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.

Archip. That might be a policie for some, but it could not serue for all, especially for such as were at their hopes end with the world.

Epaph. Benefits already received were presented to that sort in the cup of exprobation, to dash them with the wrath of their unthankefulnes, and feare of former favour to be unrecoverably lost, if at this time they did not proue more then honest men. Some were threatned with utter ruine: and the sillier sort terrified out of their wits with loud blasts of highest displeasure, ready to draw on without delay a deluge of desolations upon the Kirk, if the Articles happened at that time to be refused.

Archip. Both these are like Mathematicall Midses to demonstrate Metaphysicall conclusions, with what face could the world be so used for an argument in matters of Religion?

Epaph. The matters were couched in the corners of extenuation, and vilified in the dust of indifferencie; howsoever they were eminent and highest in their desires and intention, and had more lovers and friends to doe for them, then Religion it selfe I feare should find were it to passe in an act of Parliament.

Archip. Yet I am sure these Ringleaders could not well know the names of many Commissioners and Voters, farre lesse their severall dispositions and intentions.

Epaph. For gaining the vnknown, and tryingall, treacherous Intelligencers are sent forth, in outward apparance men of verie good sort, but indeed of the generation of the Neronian quadruplators to shuffle themselues in all honest companies, but specially in the meetings of Noblemen, commissioners of Shires and Burrowes, vvhere under colour of the same affection and inclination to like or dislike, as those Sinons found the dispositiõ of companies vvhere they happened to be, they lurked; but still aboue all things they counterfeited a dislike of Perth Articles; and by that vile and base Iudas like dissimulation sucked out mens minds, and became acquaint vvith all their counsels that vvisely vvere not aware of them. The points of their false profession vvere to learne mens names, their natures and their purposes, that thereby they might be the more able to enforme their Masters, *Who Was Debat, and Who Was not.* And some of the cut-throats, vvhere they were admitted vvould seeme in presence to giue approbation to such things as they heard, that so they might goe lesse suspected: and sometime by their pernicious fraud, vvhere they durst aduenture, they vvould divert honest men most craftily from good motions and resolutions, and then at night returne to their directors, like venemous vvaspes clogged vvith filthy lies and flattering suggestions; Albeit there vvere some like Æsops Flee, that sate vpon the Axetree of the Coach vvheele, and sayd, *What a dust doe I raise?*

Delatores, bonorum genus publice exitio reperti & pœnis quidem omnium satis conuictum. Tacit.

Archip. Particular persons might be known and disappointed by that craft; but vvhen they conveened vvith the Estates, wherof they vvere members, they behoved to bewray themselues, and so be brought by the rest to a right mind againe.

Epaph. The Noblemen and Commissioners of Shires and Burrowes, in a mild manner of Imperious request, vvere restrained from the necessary vse of the ancient priviledge granted to the soverall Estates of this land, to conveene by themselues in time of Parliament, for adviſing, reasoning, and preparing themselues the more deliberately to vote in publicke. And although for their better information it vvas promised, that they should haue inspection of things past by the Lords of Articles, at least 24 houres before meeting in publick, it vvas not onely refused, but they were enjoyned that they should never upon any condition haue meeting at any time or place, vvithout speciall consent given by my Lord Commissioner.

Archip. I can reply nothing in this case; your depths are become so shallow that a vveake eye may see the ground of them. I vvould never haue looked that the former deceivers could haue reported so much as the common favour of *Augustus* or *Philip*, [illegible]

Εγω φιλω σους φιλους ουδενος δ' ηττων.

ditaror, non proditores, or that the alternatiue of *Themistocles* going with commission to the Andrians, could haue been heere allowed, either fairnesse or force, words or violence.

Epaph. I might open unto you greater depths, vvherein *Shippes* vvere seene sailing, and *Eagles* attending them, and discover secrets vvhere *Serpents* vvere gliding, and the greatest *Like a man with a maide* playing, vvhen the most expert in the matter of Articles, and of best credit to make voters, vvent in paires: The *first man*, and his *fellow labourer*, *The Scholer and his Pedagogue*, *The Principall and his cautioner*, all running under great hope to come speed, and that both privately and publickely, in the house, and upon the street, at evening and morning, in all places and occasions, vvith as many fine formes as they did meet with fashions of men.

Suadam & violentiam

Archip. Your Hieroglyphicks are obscure, and ye delight to be Acroamaticall.

Epaph. I shall trouble you no more vvith them, but shall relate one policie as pithie as plaine to all; vvhereby absents vvere made present for voting, and they vvho vvere present vvere made absent from voting.

Archip. Pithie it may be, but plaine it cannot be; for that seemes an impossibility through force of contradiction.

Epaph. Ye are in the schooles, and I in the house of Parliament: ye are upon the Logicks, and I upon the Politicks. Ye perhaps never heard of *Proxeis*. But such vvas the force of our procuration in her prime and first rudiments, that she brought forth three miraculous effects: 1 Shee brought English Noblemen, neither having portion nor inheritance in this Realme, nor knowledge in our affaires Civill or Ecclesiasticall, to vote in a Scottish Parliament: 2 She made some, vvho had licences passed to remain from Parliament at that time, and had their excuses, admitted to vote by procurators: 3 She made some by the greater vviledom and care of their faithfull Procurators, to vote against their own minds. And another vvay to make absents present, vvas by moving some vvho had obstinately refused, when they were elected by their Shires to accept commission, upon their refusall had taken instruments, and had sworn neither to ride nor vote in Parliament at that time, both to accept commissiou, and to be ready to vote.

Proxeis.

Archip. But how was it possible to make them vvho vvere present to be absent?

Epaph. This was more easie, and was brought about with singular artifice, by many wayes and divers degrees. And first before the last day of the Parliament, divers Commissioners, who in derision

Three policies to make them who were present to absent.

risiõ were called Puritanes, becauſe they were more affected to the ancient liberties of the Kirk againſt obtruded novelties, were moved to leaue both Town and Parliament; & ſo were found ſome of them ſtragling through the Countrey, ſome viſiting their friends, and ſome poſting homeward, while the Parliament was yet ſitting; all flying from apprehended danger upon the one ſide, and from inforcing importunity on the other.

Archip. When was the laſt day, for that behoved to be the great day?

Epaph. There was firſt a cautelous bruite broched and blowen abroad with a ſnell aire of ſeeming diſcontentment, that the Parliament would ſit longer then was looked for, and it might be till the Articles were concluded: and then the voters of victorie being numbred, and ſucceſſe brought under the eye of good hope, ſuddenly without the knowledge, and beſide the expectation of many of the members of the Parliament, Saturday the fouth of Auguſt was choſen as the fitteſt time for cloſing the action.

Archip. But it is not time yet for you to cloſe your narration, ye muſt both ſhew me the otherwayes of making them who were preſent, to be abſent; and what was more done in that day.

Epaph. The ſecond vvay was as skilfull, but not ſo ſucceſſefull as the firſt. Vpon ſome queſtion of place betwixt two Lords of Parliament, both lovers of Religion, it was apprehended that they would rather looſe their votes, then perill their dignity: And therefore ſtrait commandement was given to Noble men to keep their own places. But as that worthy Grecian with his fellow-ambaſſadour buried their private emulations till their return, when the publicke affaires of the common-wealth were exped; ſo they perceiving the ſnare, packed up the controverſie for that time, and of their Chriſtian diſcretion, and generous affection, preferring a ſubſtantiall duety to a circumſtantial ceremony kept their liberty, and ſo diſappointed that policie. And as the firſt policie of this ſort perſwaded ſome to leaue the Town, ſo the ſecond vvould haue moved others to leaue their riding. But on the other ſide I vvill tell you by the way that their policie could not make all to be preſent of vvhoſe concurrence they aſſured themſelues. Divine providence in one example might haue been a ſufficient inſtruction to let them ſee, how eaſily his Majeſtie might haue turned all their purpoſes and counſels to folly, if it had beene his pleaſure, for that which befell one might haue befallen the reſt. For one of the Commiſſioners vvhom they had to be a ring-leader of the reſt of the Commiſſioners of the Burgeſſes fell off his horſe and gaue place to another. And vvho vvas this but that Commiſſioner of the chiefe Burgh Edinburgh, vvho fell

that day in the ſtreet, and was forced to giue place to a craftſman choſen in his roome to be peere to that firſt kneeling Proveſt of that Town, which was once as another Ieruſalem ſending the puritie, power and loue of the Goſpell through all the corners of the kingdome: but now (albeit the power of grace remaine in the hearts of many hundreds) is as vniverſally ſcandalous through ſuddenly admitted novations by themſelves and their paſtors too penitent of their proteſtation, practiſers, and preachers of contrary conformitie, and paternes of change to the whole countrey. The Lord give them hearts to remember from whence they are fallen, that they may repent and doe their firſt workes.

Archip. Who knoweth, but they who haue done ſo many things well for their common eſtate, common workes and priviledges of their towne, may doe ſomewhat (and the Lord bleſſe them with an open doore) for the libertie and flouriſhing eſtate of their kirke, to the wonted benefit of the whole realme. But proceed in the reſt of your policies.

Epaph. The next degree muſt be to keep them from voting, who had ridden, and now entred in the houſe of Parliament, and this vvas alſo brought about by perſwading ſome Noblemen inwardly warned to vote againſt the fiue articles, but outwardly wrought upon to vote for them; to make a mid courſe, and to lurk in the inner houſe till the kirkes part was acted, and Gods vvorſhip through her ſides had received a deadly wound, and then to come forth to the ſtage, and in their owne places to play their parts in civill matters. It is better to be altogether Chriſtians with *Paul*, then to be almoſt Chriſtians with *Agrippa*, or not all with *Feſtus*; *He that loveth father or mother* (far more he that loveth the world) *more then me, is not, &c.*

Archip. Yee remember *Nicodemus*, and *Ioſeph* of Arimathea: But there had been no place left for that policie, if the former order kept in the Articles, when the kirk was poſtponed, had been now obſerved in face of Parliament.

Epaph. To the end that this policie might haue place, when it was now made manifeſt, that other matters would not find great oppoſition, the kirk had a pithy pleader for her precedencie in publicke. For after the Lord commiſſioners ſpeech, the Lord Chancellour ſpake for the kirkes right, alleadging that both reaſon and cuſtome required, that the kirk haue the firſt place, and for that cauſe giveth direction, that the Act concerning the kirk, meaning the fiue articles, and ratification thereof, bee firſt read.

Archip. What ſpeech meane yee of the Lord Commiſſioner?

Epaph. When all were now entred into the house, and were set in their owne places, after deep silence he had a preface for voting, short, but vehement; partly exhortatorie for yeelding to the five Articles of Perth, partly apologetick for defence of his Ma. against surmises of Popish religion, partly declaratory, attesting that there was nothing under heaven that could be so acceptable to his Majestie, as that the Kirk of Scotland would receiue these five Articles; and partly promissorie, that he would ingage his honor, faith & credit upon that princely word which his Maiesty past to him, that if they would receiue these 5 articles at that time, his Highnes would never burden them with any more ceremonies during his life time; according to a promise uttered by the Bishop of Aberdein to the same meaning, for easing the way to the articles, but without such reply, as was made to him by a Noble man, that hee was too liberall of his promises, having no assurance: for his Majesty would not bind himselfe after that sort.

Archip. That preface was a strong cup of digestion.

Epaph. And was well seconded with the sweet sauce of my Lord Chancellors oration composed of two ingredients, loue and learning. For after he had pleaded in his *Exordium* for the Church her dignitie; it is, saith his L. an evident declaration of his Ma. loue to God and religion, that he hath so great care of the Kirk: and as for matters proponed, they require not much disputation, being already concluded by learned Bishops, Fathers, Doctors & Pastors convened at Perth for that effect. After this confirmation, the Lord Commissioner addeth the confutation: for against the apprehension & surmise, that his Maiestie was resolved to make this kirk in all things conforme to the Church of England; he did assume that his Ma. willed him to signifie unto them, that these being once concluded, he would urge no other rite nor ceremonie, and that by their according to these, they would give singular declaration of their loyalty; and therfore requested to take heed how they voted.

Archip. Was there no mouth opened at this time to make reply, or to offer reason in the contrary?

Epaph. No place was left for reason, onely against that summary form of proceeding, the promise made to the Nobility for having the conclusions of the Lords of Articles 24 houres at least before they were voted in publicke, was timously remembred and urged by a Noble man, to the effect they might proceed with deliberation according to the worth of matters, especially the acts being long, and of great consequence, and not to give suddain iudgment, like as many ciphers, as in effect (sayd he) they were made by that form of dealing. I will not trouble you with the answer made to reasonable a motion, and bitter repulse of all further deliberation:

tion: but I will draw now to the concluſion.

Epaph. That is all, and I long to heare it, that I may ſee what proportion of policie is keeped, whether the end be anſwerable to the the beginnings and proceedings.

Archip. In the concluſion, when the matter is brought to the voters of the houſe, there was a threefold well ſtudied confuſion: firſt albeit the fiue articles were different in themſelues, and the moſt part had different opinions concerning them; yet they were all hudled up in one bundell according to the practick & ſucceſſe at Perth, that all of them might carry the favour of any one that was leaſt reſiſted, and then every one the moſt miſliked of them the favour of all. The ſame skill was uſed in ioyning the ordinary and extraordinary taxation: for divers of every eſtate thought hardly of the extraordinary taxation, all being moſt willing to giue large ſupply in the ordinary, anſwerable to the grat affaires in hand, and honour of the kingdome. And therefore upon aſſurance, that it would be refuſed by no man, the other was ſtraitly tied to it. Secondly, advantage was taken of the conceived words, *Agree and diſagree* the preſcribed form of voting: for all being ſtraitly diſcharged here as at Perth, to give any reaſon for their votes, that the cócluſion might paſſe *ad numerum non ad pondus*; or leaſt the weight ſhould be prejudicial to the number, & all directed to expreſſe théſelues ſimply in theſe words, it come to paſſe, that the ſecond ſillable of *Diſagree* through the wide opening of the mouth at A, did eat up the firſt, eſpecially in the low pronouncíation of ſome, who being deſired to ſpeak out, threatnings and boaſtings vvith menacing eyes vvere breathed out againſt them, for the terror of others following: and ſo the negatiue vvere noted for affirmatiue. And thirdly, in calling the roll and marking the votes, the diſtinction of the three ſeverall eſtates was ſuppreſſed, and all who had power to vote, were called promiſcuouſly as ſo many ſingle perſons, that the concluſion might be made up by pluralitie of perſonall voters, without reſpect had to their corporations; whereas the Burrowes, one of the eſtates diſagreed directly; and the other eſtate rightly conſidered, as it conſiſteth of greater & leſſer Barons without mixture of officiars of eſtate; and abſents made preſent by their procurators, would haue made that eſtate doubtſome, if not negatiue; and ſo all the preceeding diligence from Perth aſſembly to this houre notwithſtanding, the act of ceremonies had found no other father at this time, except the Eſtate of Biſhops, with others of equall engagement; as it will ſtil proue frowen faced as long as it is fathered upon others vvho begat it againſt their vvills; let men reioyce at the birth thereof, and buſk it up as they pleaſe.

Threefold confuſion in voting.

Epaph. When all were now entred into the houſe, and were ſet in their owne places, after deep ſilence he had a preface for voting, ſhort, but vehement; partly exhortatorie for yeelding to the fiue Articles of Perth, partly apologetick for defence of his Ma. againſt ſurmiſes of Popiſh religion, partly declaratory, atteſting that there was nothing under heaven that could be ſo acceptable to his Majeſtie, as that the Kirk of Scotland would receiue theſe fiue Articles; and partly promiſſorie, that he would ingage his honor, faith & credit upon that princely word which his Maieſty past to him, that if they would receiue theſe 5 a[illegible] would never burden them with a[illegible] life time; according to a promiſe [illegible] dein to the ſame meaning, for eaſi[illegible] without ſuch reply, as was made to [illegible] was too liberall of his promiſes, h[illegible] jeſty would not bind himſelfe afte[illegible]

Archip. That preface was a ſtro[illegible]

Epaph. And was well ſeconded [illegible] Chancellors oration compoſed of [illegible] ning. For after he had pleaded in [illegible] dignitie; it is, ſaith his L. an evid[illegible] to God and religion, that he hath ſ[illegible] for matters proponed, they requi[illegible] already concluded by learned Biſh[illegible] convened at Perth for that effect. A[illegible] Commiſſioner addeth the confutat[illegible] ſion & ſurmiſe, that his Maieſtie w[illegible] all things conforme to the Church [illegible] his Ma. willed him to ſignifie unto them, that theſe being once concluded, he would urge no other rite nor ceremonie, and that by their according to theſe, they would give ſingular declaration of their loyalty; and therfore requeſted to take heed how they voted.

Archip. Was there no mouth opened at this time to make reply, or to offer reaſon in the contrary?

Epaph. No place was left for reaſon, onely againſt that ſummary form of proceeding, the promiſe made to the Nobility for having the concluſions of the Lords of Articles 24 houres at leaſt before they were voted in publicke, was timouſly remembred and urged by a Noble man, to the effect they might, proceed with deliberation according to the worth of matters, eſpecially the acts being long, and of great conſequence, and not to give ſuddain iudgment, like as many ciphers, as in effect (ſayd he) they were made by that form of dealing. I will not trouble you with the anſwer made to reaſonable a motion, and biter repulſe of all further deliberation;

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tion: but I will draw now to the conclusion.

Epaph. That is all, and I long to heare it, that I may see what proportion of policie is keeped, whether the end be answerable to the the beginnings and proceedings.

Archip. In the conclusion, when the matter is brought to the voters of the house, there was a threefold well studied confusion: first albeit the fiue articles were different in themselues, and the most part had different opinions concerning them; yet they were all hurdled up in one bundell according to the practick & successe ry the favour of any one that ie the most misliked of them as used in ioyning the ordinary livers of every estate thought on, all being most willing to nswerable to the grat affaires in . And therefore upon assurance, the other was straitly tied to it, he conceived words, *Agree and* g: for all being straitly dischar- reason for their votes, that the *ens ad pondus*; or least the weight t, & all directed to expresse the- e to passe, that the second silla- ening of the mouth at A, did w pronounciation of some, who nings and boastings vvith me- aint them, for the terror of o- thers following: and to the negatiue vvere noted for affirmatiue. And thirdly, in calling the roll and marking the votes, the distinction of the three severall estates was suppressed, and all who had power to vote, were called promiscuously as so many single persons, that the conclusion might be made up by pluralitie of personall voters, without respect had to their corporations; whereas the Burrowes, one of the estates disagreed directly; and the other estate rightly considered, as it consisteth of greater & lesser Barons without mixture of officiars of estate; and absents made present by their procurators, would haue made that estate doubtsome, if not negatiue; and so all the preceeding diligence from Perth assembly to this houre notwithstanding, the act of ceremonies had found no other father at this time, except the Estate of Bishops, with others of equall engagement; as it will stil proue frowen faced as long as it is fathered upon others vvho begat it against their vvills; let men reioyce at the birth thereof, and busk it up as they please.

Threefold confusion in voting.

Archip. Busking it hath need of, but the ioy at the birth could not be great, it being conceived and formed by such meanes.

Epaph. Yet, as upon the one side, the commissioners of Borrowes, who were either silent, or negatiue in the voting of that act of the fiue Articles were refused of the ratification of the priuiledges of their Burrowes, which was granted to others: So upon the other side, when things are now brought unto the wished end, and worne to the back, by the Bishops of the businesse many faire promises were giuen for reward, and the house presented by the Lords Commissioner and Chancellour with a gratulatorie sweetnesse of seruiceablenesse, a remembrance of liberalitie to his Maiestie, and conformitie to his will in kirk matters, closing all with a pleasant assurance that we should never be troubled with more ceremonies hereafter. And so the ioy was great for conquest of the conclusion, but the time was not yet of sorrow for the premisses.

Archip. Yee tell me of the ratification of the 5 articles: but I haue heard nothing whether the protestation, penned by the Ministers, and left behind them, was vsed or not.

Epaph. The last day, the entry of the house of Parliament, the most proper place for using thereof, was most straitly kept, least any Minister should enter without an Episcopall passport. And for further securitie the Bishop of Saint Androwes man for his egregious eminencie, lest any gift should want imployment, was set over the inner barre, like *Saul* amongst the people, for debarring all Ministers, in whose faces hee could see any prognosticke of a Protestation. And that Bishop himselfe required the Chancellour to charge the Constable and Marshall of the house to challenge all ministers within: of which number one being named by the Marshall upon that occasion answered, My Lord yee take me for the wrong man, the Bishop himselfe brought me in. Where through the Minister, undertaker to publish the protestation in the name of the Kirke, albeit hee was within the house of Parliament, yet could not find accesse for that effect, and therefore went forth, and fixed one copie of the protestation aboue written upon the doore of the Tolbooth, and another upon the crosse. Againe upon the 10 of August, when the Acts of Parliament were proclaimed at the crosse of Edinburgh, hee published three copies, one upon the Crosse; another upon the kirke doore; and the third upon the palace gate of Halyrood house, whereupon hee took instruments with all requisite solemnities, using the words following: *Here in the name of the brethren of the Ministery professing the religion as it hath been practised in our kirk since the reformation of the same:*

I protest against all these things that have been concluded in prejudice of our privitedges since the first reformation thereof, and adheres to my former protestation made and fixed on the Tolbooth dore and other places; and to all the Protestations made in favours of the Kirk in the time of preceding Parliaments.

Archip. It seemeth, that the fear of that Protestation before it was used, the distressed Estate of Religion through the Christian vvorld, and their own profession that they stand for the substance of Gods vvorshipand libertie of the Kirk, howsoever they bee liberall in Ceremonies, should haue made them ear full of the ratification of the truth, and of abolishing all contrary errour and superstition.

Epaph. By the contrarie, upon deeper considerations, albeit the ratification of the libertie of the Kirk, of the Assemblies and Discipline thereof, and anent tryall and punishment of the adversaries of true Religion hath ever been as ordinarie in Parliament since the reformation of Religion, as it was now necessarie: ye shall not find a word of that purpose among all the printed actes of this so long lasting Parliament. But ye may see in the last words of of the first act, an act neither read nor voted in Parliament rescinding actes made in former times against superstition. Act of Parliament.

Archip. But that nullitie is restrained by the clause, *In so farr as they be derogatiue to any of the Articles about written.*

Epaph. It is apparant then by their owne confession, that something is here enacted against former actes of Parliament concerning the worship of God since the reformation, which some doe altogether deny. But to answer you. I ask, if a transcendent power, a great man, or a ring leader presuming to doe vvhat he vvil, and through the spirit of slumber excusing himselfe from the common warning, *Giue an account of thy stewardship*, command a yong man in a place of service to doe vvhat pleaseth him; whether of the two shall make the commentary upon that clause? And must not such a tender flexible creature be more readie to please his Maker, then to stand upon points to trie vvhat becommeth his place?

Archip. So great alteration against so many strait bonds, the omitting of the ratification of the reformed Christian Religion at such a time, and the re-establishing of superstitious Antichristian ceremonies, might haue made the hearts of the agents to quake, the mindes of the multitude, vvho vvere suffered to bee present to bee miscontent, and the heavens and earth to bee astonished.

Epaph. Ye bring me now to the third point that I proponed,

Many witnesses of all sorts against the proceeding & conclusions of Parliament.

wherin I may say, that beside the Supplication, Informations, Admonitions and Protestation of the Messengers of God put out of the town, the mindes of the Actors, the voyces of the people declaring their feare and griefe, and the Heavens aboue vvere witnesses of the truth against that Act.

Archip. How can yee judge of the mindes of the Actors? The Lord knoweth the hearts and tryeth the reines.

Epaph. And vvill also reward every man openly according to his vvorks done in secret. Yet none of the Actors could say, that in that action he intéded to honor God, or to do good to his worship. The most part of them had professed freely in private many times before their dislike of the cause and crooked convoy thereof. And the Lord in his vvise providence discovered the feare of their hearts that last day of the Parliament very early. For about foure houres in the morning there went a pittifull cry through the high street of Edinburgh, *Fye for help, Fire, Fire.* The terrible sound of the common bell, which is seldome heard but upon great motions, filleth the eares of men, raiseth many out of their beds, and bringeth them in armes bare-footed to the street, thinking that the people had made some insurrection. Through this confused confluence of people, and trouble of the vvhole town, albeit it was hard to discern, whether Master or servant was readiest to doe homage to servile feare; yet it vvas manifest, that men in highest places and known to haue strongest hand in the present course, were in greatest perturbation and perplexitie, till they were assured that there was no other intention, but to quench a fire, wherby a lodging at the New well of the Cowgate was destroyed vvithout recoverie, vvhich had been interpreted prodigious in any other place at such a time, and at this time and place, if the hearts of men had not been possessed vvith a greater fear at the first.

Archip. How vvere the people vvitnesses, and by what meanes did they declare their judgement.

Epaph. It vvere a thing impossible, to relate all their Observations. As when the newes vvere first brought to Scotland, that the Marquesse of Hammilton had undertaken that Commission, it vvas regrated by the best sort of all rankes, that the sonne of so vvorthie Parents, a nobleman of so great expectation and good affection to Kirk and Commonwealth, should be tempted to giue proofe of his forraine learning, upon employment so directly crossing the will of the one and weale of the other. So the common people partly out of their respect to him, and partly out of their feare of his Commission had frequently in their mouthes these old verses of Knight Keggow.

O vvrth-

O Dretched Scot when Keggow turnes thy King,
Then may thou dole and dolour daily sing,
For from the South great sorrow shall be bring,
Therefore o'r Scot right short shall be his ring.

And,

The time will come, I trow as Thomas *sayes,*
Heardmen shall hunt you up through gartings gill
Casting the padle and letting the plough stand still.

Again the last day of the Parliament, great multitudes, being conveened in the utter Court of Halyroode-house to behold the solemnity, order and honours, as they were borne, did obserue at the verie instant, vvhen the Lords vvent to their horses and vvere now mounted, a Swan flying over their heads from the North towards the South, flaffings with her vvings, & muttering her ominous song, whereat shaking their heads in their manner, and whispering amongst themselues, they declared vvhat opinion they had of the proceeding, and vvhat feare of a bad conclusion.

Archip. These two instances, vvhatsoever force they haue in themselues, are sufficient testimonies of the disposition and feares of the people. But how was it that the heavens were witnesses at that time? for I can not thinke that yee can like superstitious obseruation more then superstitious adoration.

Epaph. I loue not the snares of superstition, which is the very reproach of the Godhead. I know that faith in things divine, and right reason in things civill is better directer, then the obseruation of rare and prodigious events made by man, who are guided by their senses. Signes must follow and not lead the truth. But I dare not deny the power of particular providence in all the works under the Sun; lest vvith sensuall Epicures, or vvith the secure world I be forced to distribute her heavenly praises, betwixt her enemie fortune in secret, and her handmaid nature in seen second causes. The incomprehensible course of that highest providence in Gods admirable vvisedom (to the foot of vvhose chair the highest link of the chaine of second causes is fast tied) hath made the great changes of states, whether of Kirkes or Commonwealthes to be sensible by concurring signes, as it hath been ordinarie in all times by obseruation and record of these vvorks of God, to giue warning to the vveak agents of great actions, touching the great God in his honour and men in their happinesse, to try themselues vvhether in their proceedings they haue vvalked dutifully with the convoy of truth going before, & with wisdome at the one hand & charity at the other, that so they may either rejoyce or repent, or at least be cõvinced against that day of the rightous judgmẽt of God. When the contro-

Lucretius ait Epicurum magno meum liberasse humanas mentes, quod superstitiones insultent, & fortuito geri omnia confirmarit.

controversie vvas betwixt *Cyrillus* and *Nestorius*, vvhich by many Kirk men in the east favouring Nestorius part, vvas counted λογομαχία, a braule about vvords, especially by *Acacius*, vvho called *Cyrillus* ἀκριβολογοῦντα precise in termes. And vvhen that Controversie vvas to be decided by the Councell of Ephesus, upon certaine signes and presages of hard successe, this verse vvas ordinarie in the mouthes of men.

Σημεῖα γὰρ τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ,
Ὅταν τι ναοῖς ἐγκατασκήψῃ μισος.

For when mischiefe hangs over the Kirk,
Then signes like these begin to work.

And *Machiavel* himselfe agreeth to the generall, *de Repub. l. 1. c. 56* through force of experience in the mutations of States, but he neither can finde out the cause, nor make any good use of the particulars.

Archip. Ye know both the truth of the generall, and the true cause thereof, and therefore let me know the particular.

Epaph. Vpon that last day of the Parliament before foure houres after noone, vvhen all the Actes vvere now concluded, and mens hearts vvere insulting upon the Defenders, glorying in their own vvittie counsels, rejoycing in their great successe, gaping for great thankes and reward, and wishing every one he vvere the first reporter, that he might be carver of his own praise, as if he had recovered the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Palatinat: The Lord Commissioner rising from his throne, for ratifying all that vvas done by touch of the Scepter, vvas trysted by the God of heaven. For at the verie moment of that ratification, the heavens send in through the vvhole vvindowes of the house an extraordinarie great lightning: after the first a second more glancing; and then a third most terrible of all. Immediately after the lightnings, an uncouth and extraordinarie darkenes, for the suddennesse and greatnesse therof astonishing all, and couching the insolent joyes of some. The lightnings vvere seconded vvith three loud blasts of thunder, in sound and short continuance of every blast like the shot of some Cannon extraordinary great: and were taken by many vvithin the house of Parliament to be shotts from the Castle. It appeared to all that dwelt within ten or twelue miles, that the clowdes stood right aboue the town, and that the darkenesse overshadowed that part onely. By one of the blasts the Beacon standing in the entry of Leith haven vvas beaten down. After the lightnings, darknes and thundering, their fell down a shoure of haile stones extraordinary great, and last of all a strange

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raine making the ſtreetes to runne like rivers, impriſoning the Lords about the ſpace of an houre and a halfe, and ſtraitly forbidding to honour theſe fiue Articles vvith ordinarie pompe and ſolemnity: So that the ſervants rode home on the foormantles, and the Maſters vvithdrew themſelues, ſome by coach and ſome on foot through the neereſt privie wayes. Next, as if the heavens had reſolved never to countenance theſe ill-gotten creatures, upon Munday the 20 of Auguſt, vvhen the Acts vvere proclaimed, the ſame indignation vvas renewed by thunder, fire, light, and great raine, continuing all the time of the riding at the Croſſe: And thirdly, vvhat hath followed ſince, yee can vvitneſſe your ſelfe. The tempeſts of vvind and raine begun at that time haue ſo continued through the uncouth unſeaſonableneſſe of the late harveſt in many places. S *Lake* gat not a ſtowck, and the cornes univerſally are ſhaken, and rotten in ſuch meaſure that never was there in this Conntry ſuch inequality of prices in ſo ſhort time; never greater feare of famine, & vvant of ſeed to ſow the ground for the next crop. It is pittifull to remember (if it could be forgotten ſo long as there is a Kirk in Scotland) the impetuous inundations of vvater carrying away vvith their violence not onely cornes, cattle, and bridges, but houſes, pleniſhing people and all. Perth hath good reaſon to call to mind the month of May, the yeare 1591, vvherein by certaine commiſſioners they confeſſed to the Generall Aſſembly, their raſh and ſuddain receiving of the apoſtat Lords, troublers of Kirk and Kingdome, and promiſed never to gine ſuch occaſion in time comming, but to aſſiſt and maintaine the Kirk of God, and the true Religion preſently profeſſed vvithin this Realme, as at more length is contained in their own confeſſion. Item the months of March 1596, and Auguſt 1618, vvherein *reſtitutè* was both begun and concluded that unhappie change, which hath been and is a curſed mother of many miſeries to this Kirk and Kingdome: unto vvhich howſoever they were diſpoſed, it vvas openly ſpoken in the publick meeting that they were inclinable. And if it were ſo, they declined as farre from their firſt promiſe as they inclined to that alteration. Item, Item the moneth of Octob. 1621 vvherein the ruſhing and rumbling of vvaters, and fear and danger vvithin their towne ſends them to ſeek their ſafety by the loſſe of their fair & coſtly bridge, vvith ſuch affection as the merchant caſts his goods in the ſea, or the owner runnes his ſhip on ground for ſafety of mens lines: The Lord had an eye to the teares of their ſorrow, and heard their cryes; from the depths he releeved and ſaved them, and they ſtand his debters of themſelues for their great redemption, and that wonderfull deliverance. And likewiſe the town of Berwick did

ſee the unreſiſtable rage of Tweed, by whoſe violence was hurled away, not onely their ancient vvodden bridge, but that new and ſtrong one finely builded of ſtone, no leſſe deſtinate to beare that honourable remembrance: *Hoc uno ponte duo regna conjunxi. Deus diu conjuncta conſervet*, then to be a common ſervant to the North and South parts of this Iland. It is moreover pittifull to heare the lamentation of vvidowes, children and friends at home, for the loſſe of their deere husbands, loving fathers, and truſtie and tender friends by ſea, and ſpecially in thoſe townes that are moſt zealous to follow novelties in religion: and alſo pittifull to remember the great regrat of Burgh and Land for vvant of fewel to prepare their meat and drinke, and refreſh their perſons againſt the injuries of the vehement cold. And yet few ſtrikes upon the thigh, and askes *Why are all theſe things come upon us?* But for further humiliation, the Lords hands is yet ſtretched out, to ſee if any vvill repent and returne. For before the vvearilome end of this unſeaſonable harveſt, and the vvheat ſeed, which farre by the ordinarie cuſtome of this Country, vvas not begun in December, there is come on a heavie Winter, vvith great hunger and cold, ſtriking all that haue fore-ſight vvith feare, and care to eaſe themſelues of ſuch perſons as they may ſpare, and to liue as retired as poſſible they can; and daily increaſing pittifull cryes, not onely of vagabond beggars, but of many honeſt perſons, who if they had employment as before were able to ſuccour themſelues by the fruit of their labours. What the ſpring and ſummer following may bring forth of ſuch beginnings it is hard for us to inquire, and beſt for all, *To Watch and pray, to be zealous and amend, and to reſolue to exerciſe their patience and charitie, as the Lord hath meaſured unto them.*

λοιμὸς μετὰ λιμόν. Read Euſeb. l. 9. cap. 7. & after him Niceph. l. 7. cap. 28.

Archbip. I know that the providence of God ruleth, and the ſin of man procureth all judgements and afflictions. And (I thank my God) I haue learned againſt the Atheiſme of the times ſome rules to direct me how to reduce particular judgements to particular cauſes, and to father them right upon their owne deſerving ſinnes. As 1 by denunciation in the word, vvhen I find in Scripture a particular judgement threatned againſt a particular ſinne, I muſt confeſſe that I am become ſo ſimple, that I aſcribe the judgement when it falleth out to that ſin as the proper cauſe: 2 by Retaliation; vvhen the judgement is ſo like to the ſinne that the ſin appeareth in the judgement as in a mirrour: 3 by propagation, vvhen ſinne in the own nature bringeth forth ſuch a judgement as the birth thereof: 4 by accuſation when the conſcience upon the comming of the judgement immediately remembreth and convinceth of the ſame ſinne: 5 by deprehenſion, vvhen the ſinner

Rules for reducing the iudgements of God to their own proper cauſes.

ner is taken in the verie act, as a thiefe with the fang. When many or all of these rules concurre in one particular, they leaue no scruple of dubitation in my heart, whether the matter concerne my owne personall case, or the common estate of the Kirk, or Weale-publick. And I doubt nothing, but men separating themselues for that end, might Savanorolalike, by the grace of God disposing them to joyne in their observation the course of the vvord and vvorkes of God, know much more of the procuring and intended causes of the judgements of God, and learne more of him vvho is known by executing judgements then they doe.

But to prevent all mistaking my desire is not so much for the present to make particular application of my rules to that vvhich you haue related as to haue satisfaction to the third of my Demands according to my proposition, and your promise in the beginning. Third Demand.

(***)

CONFORMITIE SHOVLD BE REFVSED.

Epaphras.

Ea est istorum temporũ miseria, ut dicere non liceat quæ sentimus, nec sentire quæ dicimus. Illis audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est, nullis faciendi quæ audire erubescunt, Illic ubi opus est nihil verentur, hic ubi nihil opus est ibi verentur.

THat libertie, vvhich the quality of the purpose, the iniquitie of the times, the respect to some mens persons, haue snibbed and holden in, in my preceding answeres, shall now break forth vvithout restrant in the following discourse free of such dangers. And therefore be free vvith me in propounding your last and greatest difficultie to the full, and you shall see that I shall bee as resolute now as reserved before.

Archipp. All that I vvould say is this. Seeing the controverted ceremonies are not matters of faith, but in their nature seeme to be indifferent, are now concluded in Kirk and Parliament, upon so religious and reasonable pretences, sufficient promises given that no further should be urged upon the Kirk hereafter, and looking upon all second causes, no hope of the restitution of our former order, but all appearance that this course shall prevaile, what shall be done? Were it not good to make a vertue of necessitie? And is it not better after due testification of our zeale to our ancient liberty, and of our misliking of the present course, for our short time either vvillingly to receiue, or patiently to tollerate that vvhich we cannot mend, then to striue vvith our Superiours, trouble the peace of the Kirk, giue place to the common adversarie, carie the infamous notes of Schisme and Puritanisme: and, vvhich we must respect also, hazard Ministerie, living, liberty, and all? There it is.

Foure principall difficulties answered.

If you haue no more to say (as I see not vvhat can be said more by the Prelate and Politician both) I perceiue that you stand upon the difficulties of *Appearance*, *Pretence*, *Promise* and *Successe*, the foure great enchanters of mankind, and rolling wheeles of defection, which I will labour to silence by the truth, and cogge in their impetuous course by the resistance of solide reason.

Archip.

Archip. My first and greatest difficultie is *Appearance*: for they seeme to me and to the most part, to be no matters of faith, but things meerly indifferent.

Epaph. It is a happy thing that the thoughts and words of men bring no change upon the verities of God. Had we been these seven yeares past like the seven sleeping Martyrs of *Nicephorus* in the time of *Decius*, this din of indifferencie which deaves us now, had made us to think that we had either been wakned in another world, or else that we had mistaken our grounds, when we learned, that matters were the rules of mens minds; and that the errors of men could doe no harme to the truth of God. All the operations of the mind of man, his cognoscing, fancying, apprehending, deducing, concluding, &c. although fortified by canons, customes, and lawes, are not of that force. For when the mind of man goeth astray from the truth, he incountreth the shadow in place of the substance. *Ieroboam* in his time, and his followers imagined, that they worshipped not the calves, but Iehovah in a sensible signe: yet their worship was indeed presented not to Iehovah, who was not so much as conceived by them, but to Divels. He that conceiveth a round cap to be squared, conceiveth not in his minde a circle, but angles; and the cap remaineth the same that it was before.

1 Difficulty, Appearance of indifferencie.

Archip. To what purpose insist you in that which all men admit?

Epaph. To answer your seeming and appearance: although ye and all others should think, and authoritie both intend and judge the matters in hand to be indifferent in the exercise of religion; yet they are not for all that indifferent. Sitting at the communion is the same now in nature that it was, when it was sworne to bee most convenient to the institution: and kneeling is no better this year then at the time of reformatiõ, when it had not the boldnes to bide behind Idolatry. The Yuile preaching hath no more pietie, albeit the Christmas pye make it more pleasant then before. Albeit these bee the dreggs of times and manners transforming things good into evill, evill into good, and both into indifferent: veritie into heresie, and heresie into veritie, and both into phantasie, that few things seeme as they are, or be as they seeme: yet veritie carrying the image of God, is still vnchangeable, and in the middest of the maskes of whoorish errors, hath such maiestie in her presentation, that with the one of her eyes she ravisheth the hearts of her lovers, and with the other disdaineth all the courters of carnall sense, her deadly enemies.

Archip. If either naturall or supernaturall verities had depended upon opinion, we would neither know nor beleeue any thing

at all. But I would know of you first, how men are brought to this opinion of indifferencie, if the things themselues bee not indifferent.

Three waies whereby men are brought to the opinion of Indifferencie.

Epaph. Some men come to it at the first; while they stay their mindes from judging that to be a matter of difference, which they heartily wish were indifferent. Even as many stay their mindes, so farre as they can, from thinking that to bee true, which they vvish were false. They cannot doe a thing unlawful, but they can judge a thing unlawfull to be indifferent, and so doe a thing indifferent. Others there bee, vvho bring on their mindes by degrees. As in Atheisme men are first Godlesse in conversation, having the forme of godlinesse but denying the power thereof, and living as without God in the world. Next, they become Atheists in affection, vvishing that there were not an infinite iustice to bee revenged vpon their vvickednesse. At last the Lord giveth them over to Atheisme in opinion, that they say in their hearts, *There is not a God.* So may I say of Adiaphorisme, and iudging of indifferencie, many at the first are brought to practise without consideration. Afterward finding themselves wrong, but either for feare of shame or skaith, refusing to follow the retrait of their conscience, they wish in affection that they were not matters of faith. In the end, the mistresse being vowed by the hand-maid, understanding is set on worke to finde out probabilities, colours and appearances, to make them to seeme indifferent. Observe particular practises, and ye shall finde it to be so.

Archip. These indeed are the methods of earthly wisedome. Vpon the contrary by heavenly order the truth comming from aboue, shineth first in the minde by her light, sendeth down her heat to the heart, and then in knowledge and zeale ruleth the outward action. But whatsoever bee the vvayes of mens vvits, thinke yee indeed, that the things in question are matters of faith, and not indifferent, I vvould not vvish you to be singular.

Epaph. A peremptory answer I perceiue vvould chase you away: I shall let you see my reason, before I tell you my opinion: first, of matters of faith, and then of things indifferent. If yee joyne vvith mee, I vvill bee no more singular, at least in your estimation: And I nothing doubt to bring you, and all such as will giue place to the truth, to be of my opinion, be upon what side they will.

Archip. There is nothing I desire more to heare: vvhat haue you then to say of the first, vvhether they bee matters of faith

Epaph.

Epaph. It is a sound and received distinction, that matters of faith are not all of one kinde, but stand in three degrees of difference. There be some things of the foundation of faith, some-things upon the foundation, and some things about the foundation. The first sort toucheth the life and soule of Christian religion: and thus the Articles of the Creed are accounted matters of faith. The second is of their necessarie attendants, by cleare and undeniable consequence following the former at the heeles: so that no man perswaded of the former first principles, can haue any hesitation almost concerning these. And the third is extended to all things revealed in Scripture concerning whatsoever purpose although most indifferent in it selfe. There is nothing of so meane importance written in the word, but it must bee ranked among the matters of faith, how soone it is manifested to bee of divine authoritie. Neither can hee haue any faith at all, who hath not faith of all that hee knoweth to bee written.

Three degrees of matters of faith.

Archip. No man will deny that: for I haue learned, that as there be some things neither necessarie of themselues to be beleeved, nor by the authoritie of Scripture; some things that are necessarie both wayes, so there be many things necessary to be beleeved not of themselves, but by authority of scripture. But what is that to the purpose.

Quædam res sunt necessaria creditu per se nec per authoritatē scripturæ: quædam necessaria per se & per authoritatem scripturæ, quædam necessaria creditu non per se sed per authoritatem scripturæ.

Epaph. I haue heard great men say, *They are no matters of salvation*, that is to say, they are not of the first degree of matters of faith, and therefore not to bee much respected, as neither helping nor hindering our happinesse. But consider I pray you this second ground, and compare it with the former, that according to the three forenamed degrees of matters of faith without, there bee answerably within the minde of man as many degrees of damnable infidelitie, these are Ignorance, Error, and Obstinacie: Ignorance of matters of faith of the first degree, condemneth: for whether amongst professors, or without the limits of the visible Kirk, he that knoweth not the principles of Christian religion, cannot be saved. Error in the second, bringeth condemnation, because he who denieth that which followeth by necessary consequence upon the principles of religion, hath not knowledge of the principles themselues; He that denieth the consequent, denieth also the antecedent, albeit he should professe that hee cannot see the necessity of consequence.

And accordingly three degrees of infidelitie.

Archip. I doubt of that: for may not I know many grounds without knowledge of the conclusions, which may bee even by necessary consequence deduced from them, because I never had occasion perhaps to think upon them.

Epaph.

Epaph. Therefore I say not that Ignorance, but Error of matters of the second sort is damnable. And that he who after consideration denieth the consequent, denieth the antecedent. The law making confession, with the fathers, of his faith in the Messiah, but denying that the Messiah is come, doth indeed deny the Messiah. The Anabaptist, professing that he beleeveth in Christ, but denying him to haue taken flesh of the virgin, doth indeed deny the Mediator. Albeit the Papist avouch, that hee is sound in the doctrine of Christs person and offices, yet by consequent hee denyeth both, and may look for Anathema for preaching another Gospell. He that sweareth the king to be his Soveraigne, and denieth him lawful obedience, cannot be excused by pretending, that he seeth not the necessitie of consequence. And he that admitteth the princely office of Christ, but will giue no place to his royall scepter, neither in his owne heart, nor in the government of the kirk, but putteth a crowne of thornes upon his head, and in his hand a reed, will be arrained of treason against the king of glory, and will bee iudged an usurper of his incommunicable dignitie.

Archip. It is now evident, and I cannot but thinke worse of such false friends, then of avowed adversaries. Albeit I would profess, that if I wer ministring the Lords supper, yet it is but my imagination, except I keepe the Lords institution, 1 Cor. 11.20. But come to the third degree, of infidelitie.

Quæ dominationis est, ut quæ te iuuent à vera institutione dominica observentur. Paulus.

Epaph. In the third kind of matters of faith, neither Ignorance nor Error, but obstinacie, bringeth condemnation. We are all ignorant of many things, but we must know the articles of faith. We all erre in many things, but we must be free of error about the necessarie consequents of these articles, and free of obstinacie in the meanest matters. So, that as it is not Ignorance, but Error in the second sort that condemneth; so it is not error simply, but obstinacie in the third sort, and *Ignorantiæ pravæ dispositionis* that condemneth. No man beleeveth expressly all matters of faith. No Christian but he carrieth a minde prepared and ready to yeeld to all matters of faith, how soone they appeare in Scripture. In this third kind, men may sinne very dangerously of obstinacie, as in the second of Error, and in the first of Ignorance. Albeit before men, the greatnesse of the injurie bee esteemed for the most part, by the obiect; before God the qualitie of the doer, and maner of doing aggregs the sinne, no lesse then the substance of the deed. *Paul* his eating of flesh may be a great guiltinesse as well as his persecution. Remember the hoove of *Moses*, *Daniels* meat, and the opening of his window, *Mordecai* his precisenesse, *Eleazars* morsel, *Pauls* houre and appearance of evill, Christs Raca, his rite of washing

Malitia personæ supplet imperitiam rei.

shing of hands, Ismaels laughing, &c. The smallest matters, the least gestures, the shortest time, the meaneſt appearance of evill, which are mole-hills in the worlds estimation, may be mountains in the eyes of God, especially being found in some persons, and done after a certaine manner. The warning, *Be ye holy as I am holy*, is most frequent in *Leviticus* a book of ceremonies; which both giveth comfortable assurance that God will accept of our services in the least duties; and teacheth also, that true holinesse, the perfect paterne whereof he pointeth at in his own holines, extendeth it selfe to the care of the smallest rites.

Archip. I must confesse by your discourse and examples, that it is so. But I see not the reason, wherefore it should be so: how can so mean matters be capable of so great guiltinesse?

Epaph. A natural *Naaman* would speak so of the whole rites of Christian religion, of the very substance of both sacraments. But I would wish you to thinke that as in matters fundamentall; so also in rituall there bee three sorts of sinne; one of Ignorance, the cause wherof is in the mind: another of Infirmitie comming of the affections: and the third of obstinate maliciousnesse rooted in the will. No man but he sinneth daily in things indifferent of Ignorance, not knowing them to be indifferent: No man but he sinneth frequently of Infirmitie in things indifferent, miscarried with some passion or temptation: but who against engyring light doth sinne obstinately in the least jot of that unalterable veritie, can you deny but hee sinneth heynously in a matter of faith. The enforced ceremonies may seeme small to our adversaries, because they bring small reason for them, and may seeme to bee no matters of faith, because they bring no word of faith for them; yet the matters wherewith Christ charged the Scribes and Pharisees, were not so great. I haue often observed in my experience, *That a little leaven soureth the whole lumpe*; and I know by my owne heart, *That a narrow faith makes a roome conscience.*

Archip. Shew me then how a man shall behave himselfe, that he faile not in matters of faith?

How every one shall be kept from falling in matters of faith.

Epaph. It is a good distinction of faith, that is observed by *Lombardus* out of *Augustine*. There is one faith whereby we beleeue: another faith which we beleeue. In respect of the one, all our actions especially in the worship of God, and more specially such of them as are controverted and called in question, must bee matters of faith. He that doubteth is damned if hee eat, because hee eateth not of faith. In respect of the other, whatsoever is prescribed in the word, is a matter of faith, whether it be ceremony or substance: whether expresly or by conse-

Fides quæ creditur ducat fidem quâ creditur.

quent, whether in the particular or in the generall. Now right order requireth, that the faith which I beleeue, be the leader of the faith, whereby I beleeue; otherwise this will bee a faithlesse faith, and proue effectlesse in the end. As the order of Nature is; Matters, Thoughts, Words, so the order of the kirk is; Scripture, Faith, Worship. It is the first Axiome of our profession, and the best rule for our direction, *That the Scripture is the onely Canon of all things belonging to religion, and the onely judge of all controversies.* All which shall be more cleare, when we speake of indifferencie the other branch of your appearance.

Res conceptus voces. Verbum fides, cantus.

Doctrine of things indifferent obscure.

Archip. As *Archimedes* tombe, when *Cicero* came to visite it, was all overgrowne with thornes, so seemeth the matter of indifferencie to me; nothing more talked of, nothing lesse knowne. We are all in time, place, motion, &c. yet the nature of time, place, motion, is so ill digested after so manifold assayes, that it gaue occasion to one to say, That they haue so many bones, that the Philosophers are like to wirrie on them, and haue need of cranes to pluck them out of their throats. All our senses and wits are exercised about things indifferent: and yet so ignorant of the nature and vse of things indifferent, that the wittiest that I haue heard or read, are like the Fox in the Fable licking onely the outside of the glasse, but never comming to the meat within: wherof if it hath been your happines to taste, I beseech you call me to the banket.

Epaph. What wiser will ye be, when I haue told you the Scholastik distinction of *Indifferentiæ Identitatis* in things altogether coincident, *Indifferentiæ communitatis* of things generall in respect of their particulars, *Receptionis*, of the matter in respect of the diversitie of formes; *actionis* in respect of this or that particular action; and haue out of their smokie subtilties discoursed vpon them severally, when I haue deaved you with *Pael, Meisnerus*, and many moe, their rules, their restrictions, and ampliations, yee will esteeme them all but shelles, and not kirnels: and so will depart as hungry as yee came. And therefore to leaue them to themselves, and not to bee nice with you about the word of *Indifferencie*, brought rather from Athens or Rome, then from Ierusalem, would you tune your eare a little to our common phrase, yee may obserue, that we call a thing Indifferent in a threefold sense: First by comparison or relation of one thing to another. Secondly, in respect of the effects and consequents that it hath. And thirdly, a thing is indifferent in the owne nature and qualitie; beside which three wayes we use not to name any thing indifferent. I will cleare them unto you orderly.

Indifferencie taken in a threefold sense.

Aliquid dicitur Adiaphorũ sive indifferẽs tribus modis.
1 *Comparative & per relationem.*
2 *Effective et per consequentiam.*
3 *Subiective et formaliter.*

Archip.

Archip. Ye haue need: for that popular indifferencie of yours seemeth to mee as obscure as the other Scholasticke indifferencie. And first what call ye the Relatiue indifferencie, or indifferent by comparison.

Epaph. Any thing is called of us indifferent in the first sence, vvhen it is taken with comparison or relation to the maine or superlatiue extremes, as that which albeit it bee good, is not best; or albeit it bee evill, is not worst; albeit it bee verily good or verily evill, yet is neither very good nor very evill, but so participateth of evill, that wee know a worse of that kind, or so participateth of good, that we know a better of that kind. And you may perceiue, that whosoever speaketh this, as the most part do, vnwittingly presupposeth two grounds: one is, that comparison bee made betwixt two things accidentall of one and the same kinde, for that which is a meane betwixt best and worst, must agree with them in all things, wherein they agree betwixt themselves, and whatsoever is common to both extreames, must be common also to the meane. Thus we use to say, that a pearle is indifferent great, and that a hill is indifferent small; yet meaning, that it is neither the greatest nor smallest pearle, neither the highest nor lowest mountaine.

1 Comparative & per relationem indifferens.

1 By comparison indifferent.

Archip That is true; and so it runneth in our daily use through all the categories of accidents, indifferent, great, good, like, unlike, learned, actiue, neere, early, decent, &c. But what is the other supposition?

Epaph The other ground is, that the comparison be made, and the relation be understood according to the bounds of our knowledge, and experience. For we speak of the extreames according to our knowledge, and so must we of the meane, when wee call any thing great, lest we meane greatest in our knowledge, and so when we say indifferent great.

Archip. What is that indifferencie for our purpose?

Epaph. I wish it were lesse in our practise, it is nothing else in matters of religion but luke-warmnesse. For in this sence the present constitution of the kirke of England, hath been and is reputed by many of her owne most loving children, labouring zealously for her further reformation, to bee indifferent and luke-warme, her government, her ceremonies indifferent. This indifferencie or mediocritie is not here as in morall habits, where both extreames swarving from the golden vertue, in excesse and defect, are sinfull and vitious: But here the one extreame is the matter of commendation, as being the onely excellencie, which the coldnesse and luke-warmnesse cannot climb unto. Such a mediocritie as *Solon* could not tolerate in Athens, as the

Qui quod ex præscripto fœderis ad belli societatē vocatus euntibus in hostē Romanis, suos prælio eduxerat iussu Tullij duabus admotus quadrigis discerptus est. Livius.

king *Tullus Hostilius* punished proportionally in *Metius Suffetius* that Adiaphorist at Rome. Such Adiaphorists vvere some of the Princes of Gods people, neither of the best sort still pousing reformation, nor altogether Idolatrous and Apostaticall, but subverting Baal and reteining the Calves of Dan and Bethel, abolishing Idolls, but not demolishing the high places. It was this Indifferencie that ruled *Pilates* policie, vvhen hee resolved to scourge Iesus Christ for saving his life. In our times goodnesse is growen so scant, that we put him who is after this sort indifferent in some degree of goodnesse; and at least call him no ill man, vvho doth not all the evill hee may; there is vvorse then hee, and that is all. In this comparatiue sence, kneeling in the act of receiving the communion, is not a gesture indifferent, nor (as wee use to speake) midway, except wee take midway for wallaway himselfe, or his neerest kinsman. For howbeit generally there bee many things worse, as the opinion it selfe of reall presence; yet making the comparison amongst things of the same kinde, there is amongst gestures of communicants, according to the one supposition, and speaking so farre as we know any gesture to bee used in the Sacrament, as it was secondly persupponed, I conclude, that of all gestures kneeling (as most Antichristian) is the worst, sitting, as most convenient to Christs owne institution, is the best; and standing neither best nor worst, but indifferent, or midway.

Controuerted ceremonies are not indifferent in the first sence.

Archip. Yee haue cleared that sufficiently. At the reformation of a Kirke it is a sinne not to change kneeling into sitting; At the first plantation of a kirke it is a greater sinne to make choyce of kneeling, and not of sitting; but the greatest sinne, and a degree of defection, is to change sitting into kneeling, that is to leaue the best, and take the worst of all gestures. But come now to the second sort of Indifferencie.

2 Effectiue et per consequentiam indifferens.

Epaph. Secondly, a thing is sayd to bee indifferent in respect of the effects and consequents that follow upon it, as that which doth neither good nor evill, helpe nor harme, but for any knowne sequell may bee done or left undone. Thus fooles who see not farre before them, thinke many things indifferent, which wise men know to bee evill or good. In this sence many things may bee indifferent to the body, which are pernicious or profitable to the soul, indifferent externally, & internally materiall; indifferent physically and morally, but good or evill civilly; indifferent all these wayes, but evill spiritually: finally, indifferent every vvay at one time, in one person and place; but

a By consequent indifferent.

at another time, in another perſon and place evill every way. Wherin evetie man judgeth according to his own eſtimation and apprehenſion of the particular good or evill that commeth neereſt unto him. And the moſt part are inveigled with their own ſelfe-loue ſophiſtication. It is neither good nor evill for me, therefore not at all. The penny wiſe worldling thinketh the change of Religion more indifferent then the taxing of uſurie. He will not giue a penny betwixt the beſt and worſt of that, which taketh nothing out of his purſe, which ſerveth nothing for augmentation nor diminution of the rentall, a booke that he ſtudyeth more then the Bible. The Epicurean loveth feſtivall daies becauſe they are fat, and counteth in his Kalender all faſting daies for diſmall. He that would be great, and aimeth to be the onely figure among ciphers, vvill haue every thing in Kirk and Policie indifferent, that ſignifieth not ſomething to him. The ſaucie Cynick ſitting Dictator like in his Cloiſter, vvhere he ſtudyeth bookes and not men, gybeth at all, and vvith his maſter *Diogenes* idly tumbleth his tub, vvhen his town is turmoil. Every man rolling his thoughts vvithin his own ſphere, and making himſelfe the miſerable center, diſdaineth ilk thing in Kirk & Common-wealth that is Eccentrick; thinketh upon nothing leſſe then Religion in matters of Religion, and upon any good or evill more, then upon ſpirituall good or evill in matters ſpirituall.

A ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter.

Archip. Whether thinke ye the controverted Ceremonies may be called indifferent in the ſecond ſenſe?

Epaph. Some men haue found them vvell profitable. But for my ſelfe I thinke, to remoue this indifferencie from them vvould require at my hands more vvords then vvit; and from you rather ſenſe then reaſon. Beſide the doolefull complaints of the Ancients, reſounded by ſo many late Divines, vviſhing in one heart and voice that the matter of contention vvere removed. Beſides the deep and drowned ſighes of *Hooker* himſelfe, both in his own and *Nazianzens* vvords: beſides M. *Sprint* his firſt tables and ceremoniall bickerings, vvith his palinod and neceſſity of recantantion (for ſo was it with him) in caſe of deprivation, and beſide the late ſpeech of the Kirk our Mother, daily experience of evill ſpirituall to the moſt, of evill naturall, œconomicall, civill, and Eccleſiaſticall to the beſt, may let you ſee a world of evils iſſuing from them.

They are not indifferent in the ſecõd ſenſe.

Archipp. It will be ſaid, that all theſe millions of miſeries, which no man can deny haue entred vvith the ceremonies, follow upon them onely by accident, and that it is not their nature to beget ſo bad effects.

Epaph. He is not vvorthy of his hire, that can ſay nothing for them.

them. Whether the evils be naturall and necessarie consequents, let the observed universality in mixing of mans inventions with Gods institution beare witnesse, that whatsoever hath been either brought in or maintained in the Kirk of God without warrant from himselfe, hath ever proved like the brasen serpent and *Gedeons* Ephod. ~~The ornaments~~ by the Philistimes added to the Ark, albeit they vvere gold, vvere but mice and emeraudes. It is tragically felt and more to be feared, that ceremonies shall proue in our Kirk such woodbind to the worship, as Ministers haue found the dignity of Bishops to themselues, notwithstanding all their faire promises, who, as it is seen through the land, doe beare them down as the great barren ashes doe the small fruitfull trees growing neere unto them: and as the fat festivall daies make the fasting daies vvhich are next unto them the leanest in all the yeare. But I hast to the third and last signification, as the more principall and the most proper.

Specificative & Reduplicative.

Archip. And I long to heare it; for in the former two the question is not great.

Epaph. In the third sense things are said to be indifferent, which considered in themselues are neither good nor evill, as not inclining to the one side more then the other of their own nature: but equally inclinable and alike readie to be inclined to either by supervenient determination. And therefore, as in the second sense they are called things serving nothing either for happinesse or miserie; so in this last sense they are called things in our power, the middes betwixt extremes. That yee may the more exactly take up their nature, yee must learne to distinguish betwixt a naked action, and an action cloathed vvith circumstances. *Inter actum nudum sive præcisum à circumstantiis & actum circumstantionatum.*

3 Subiective et formaliter indifferens.

3 By nature indifferent in 2 sensu τά μητε προς ἐυδαιμονιαν μητε προς κακοδαιμονιαν συνεργουντα. In 3 sensu τα μεσα ἁδι ακρετα τα εν εξουσια τα εν μεσῳ κειμενα

Archip. Teach me how to distinguish betwixt them?

Epaph. For the first: All our thoughts, speeches, and actions, as they lye before our eyes in their own nature, before they be defined, vested with conditions and circumstantiate, are morally indifferent: our apprehension, our reasoning, our remembring, our beleeving, our loue, hope, joy hatred, feare, griefe, or speaking and uttering, all these by word, writ, gesture or labouring, resting, eating, drinking, standing, sitting, lying, kneeling, and vvhatsoever else is the operation or exercise of any power of the soule or bodie, vvithin or vvithout, nakedly considered and without all limitation are as yet indifferent, neither good nor evill, but may be good, and may be evill; and how farre they happen to be determined, as much they loose of their indifferencie, inclyne towards the extremes, and become good or evill. Thus all things

Distinction betwixt naked actions and actions clothed with circumstances.

are

are indifferent. For the second: As all those naturall faculties and functions forenamed, are of God, through God, and for God, so is it his soveraignty to set down their marches for their morall or spirituall determination, to make them good or evill. Neither can any created power make that which is good to be evill, that which is evill to be good, that which is indifferent to be good or evill; except upon the supposall of Predetermination from him who is the Maker and Lord of all. Except man had his being of himselfe, and a world of his own making, his determinations could not be absolute or uncontrouleable in the meanest matters. And thus upon the contrary nothing is indifferent, as shall be more manifest afterward.

Deus solus, creaturæ omnes etiam dignissimæ in rebus omnibus etiam indignissimis imperio & providentiæ subjiciuntur.

Archip. All the matter I see stands in that divine determination. Would ye make it plaine how by vertue thereof things lay aside their indifferencie, and become good or evill, the light would be greater.

Epaph. This divine determination (which is indeed the principall part of our theame) so farre as it concerneth your intention is threefold; the first may be called Morall and Universall; the second Ceremoniall and Nationall; and the third Evangelicall and Christian.

Three sorts of divine determination removing the indifferencie of things.

Archip. I beseech you hast not, but goe through them in order, and stay upon every one of them, till I be in some measure satisfied. Now first what call yee that Morall and Universall Determination?

Epaph. It is to be found in the ten Commandements of the Morall Law, as they are an transumpt or rather an extended copie of the Law of nature given to man in the beginning from that first patterne of the law eternall: And afterward framed for mans estate since his fall and restitution, as it is expressed and exponed by *Moses* and the Prophets, but without any nationall respect to the people of the Iewes.

1 Determination morall.

Archipp. I would haue you to apply this determination, that I may conceiue how it removeth the naturall Indifferencie of things.

Epaph. This law of the eternall God directs and commands all the foresaid faculties, functions and actions, inward and outward, to their right objects and ends, affecteth them with their inseparable accidents, & clotheth them with their unchangeable circumstances; in such sort, that the action good, by this law can never be made evill; that which is evill by this law can never be made good; that which is good or evill by this Law can never be made indifferent. For example, by vertue of this determination, the knowledge of God, faith in God, hope in God, joy in God,

Loue

Loue of God,&c. are unchangeablie good: Distrust, hatred of God are unchangeable evils. The true vvorship of God, good; Idolatry, and vvhatsoever is idolatrous evill. Both killing and kneeling (offend not I pray you for it cannot be denyed) vvhich nakedly considered vvere indifferent by the authority of this law according to the objects,ends,and conditions,are made unchangeably good or evill.

Occidere hominem quod est idem secũdum speciem naturæ potest ordinari sicut in finem, ad conservationem Justitiæ & ad satisfaciendum iræ. Et ex hoc erunt diversi actus secundum speciem moris quia uno modo erit actus virtutis, alio modo erit actus vitii. Thom. 1 2 41 art. 3.

Archip. The danger is great I perceiue in the application: For if I passe that for indifferent,vvherupon the Lord hath before passed his determination to be good or evill, I fall into the transgression of the law of God, and under his curse:and therfore I would heare more of that Application.

Epaph. For that end I giue you two Observations, vvithout vvhich it can never be sound. One is, that the Accidents or Circumstances of a morall or spirituall action are of the same essence, and substance thereof. The squarest Conformitant shall either proue a præcisian heere in standing upon circumstances, or else quit his conformity vvith the law of God. The circumstances of persons vvill make fornication, adulterie, incest; the circumstance of place, sacriledge; of time the profanation of Sabboth &c.

Two observations for sound applicatiõ of the first determination.

Circumstantiæ vel accidentia fixa tãti momenti sunt ut penes illa peccatum judicetur id quod agitur. Pet. Martyr Loc. Com. p. 347. Humani actus non solum ex objectis verum ex circumstantiis boni vel mali dicuntur. Thom. 2. 2 qu. 18. art. 3. Quando circumstantia respicit ordinem actionis pro vel contra ex tali circumstantia constituitur aliqua species moralis actus in bonitate vel malitia, Ibid. art. 10. Ipsæ Circumstantiæ interdum constituunt rerum earum quæ aguntur speciem, ex qua res sive actiones nostræ dicuntur bonæ aut malæ. Nam quæ res simpliciter & per se bonæ sunt eæ interdũ malæ fiunt circumstantiis: est tempus quo res bona aut indifferens redditur mala, quia intempestiva est: similiter de loco & instrumentis. Iunius de Polit. Mosis c. 7. thess. 34.

Archip. I vvill never think it strange then, that the observation of one day is good service to God, and the observation of another is will-worship and superstition: that the circumstance of a private person, or a Midwife; the circumstance of a private place where the Congregation is not assembled; the removall of a table; the taking away of Sacramentall distribution, the hurting of Sacramentall fraction &c. doe alter the substance of the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptisme, or of the Lords Supper. That kneeling in one action be pious, in another action at another time be idolatrous. Circumstance will make an action otherwise laudable

laudable to be *læsæ majestatis*; and he that can swallow a Camel in the matters of God vvithout an hoast, vvill straine a gnat in the circumstances of his own affaires, as though they vvere all substance. What is your second observation?

Epaph. That the ten commandements be not taken literally, as ten vvords, but largely as Christian Pandects and common-heads of all morall duties toward God and Man, to be exponed & extended according to the commentary of the Prophets, Christ, & the Apostles in the old and new testament, according to the perfection of the large law of God, vvhich commands every duty & forbiddeth every sin: So that, whatsoever is cōmanded or forbidden in the whole word is cōtained here, & contrary to the sinistrous glosses of naturall men, the least degree of every sin is censured under the name of the highest degree & grossest of that kind: Vnadvised anger is murder. All vvhich (vvhich I vvould haue you to obserue) may be reduced to three heads. Some are so naturally evident that none is found who vvill deny them, as loue to God and our neighbour, vvorship of God &c. The second sort is of such duties and sinnes as may be easily discerned, and yet in this blindfolded estate of man may be unknown or denyed by some, as the particular sins and duties expressed in the severall commandements, and other duties and sinnes like unto them. As perhaps some are ignorant, that they cannot tell vvhich of the commandements forbiddeth drunkennesse, gluttony &c. There is finally a third sort of such as are not known but by the vvise, through a diligent search of Scripture, as Levit. 14. the rising up before the hoary head is to be reduced to the fift commandemant. The abomination of the Nations forbidden in many particulars, Deut. 18 is to be reduced to the first and second command. All vvhich expositions and determinations are also moral precepts by the force of nature obliging no lesse then the letter of the ten commandements.

Praeceptorum moralium triplex est gradus, ut quædam sint cōmunissima, quædam vero sunt magis determinata quædam denique quorum ratio non est cuilibet manifesta sed solum Sapientibus Thom. 1 2 qu 100 art. 11.

Archip. Every thing that may be reduced to the ten commandements, and that is a determination of the morall Law is not morall: for all the precepts, Ceremoniall and Iudiciall, may and must be reduced thither; and yet they are alterable, as the ceremonies of the Kirk seeme to be.

Epaph. Ye haue touched that string vvhich hath deceived many even of the learnedest eares. Consider then that the expositions and particular determinations of the morall precepts be of two sorts, some are immediate, and determine by force of the law of nature. Another sort are positiue, and oblige by mediation of another law and force of institution. Had Mr. *Sprint* sounded this ground he might haue felt that the comparison of Ceremoniall

Istæ autem non sunt determinativa præceptorum decalogi ex vi institutionis, sed ex vi naturalis instinctus. Thom. ibid.

duties and morall, the one having the force of institution onely, the other of the law of nature, as wel as the rising before the hoarie head, the one mediately the other immediately commanded, was no sure ground to build his necessitie upon. The ignorance of that third sort of duties and sinnes extends the bounds of indifferencie beyond her right.

Archip. I perceiue that every externall thing, vvhich vve call a ceremonie is not of the ceremoniall Law, but many of them be of the law Morall, and therefore unchangeable as being sparkles of the light of the law of nature. Make your second observation plaine in some particular commandement.

Both made plain in the second commandement.

Epaph. The first commandement bidding us haue Iehova onely for our God, forbiddeth the having of no God at all; the sin of Atheists, Psal. 14 the having of strange Gods and not the true, as the Pagans Acts 14 11 12: the having of strange gods with the true, as the Samaritanes 2 King. 17 33: the not having of the true God aright, Tit. 1 16. But the second commandement is a more pertinent example, vvhich enjoyning to vvorship the true God according to his vvill, dischargeth all invention and vvil worship, Coloss. 2; all imitation of others vvithout the true Kirk, Lev. 18, all translation of Gods owne ordinances, 1 King. 12: and finally all degrees to the least, all signes, all monuments, meanes, causes, incentives, occasions, provocations, beginnings of evill, that may tempt or induce our hearts, all shew and appearance of any of those evils. And as every precept commands the communion of Saints, to vvin our neighbour, and to further his salvation: so every precept forbiddeth to haue any fellowship vvith the unfruitfull vvorkes of darkenesse, or to be accessorie to other mens sinnes. Whosoever faileth in any of them, he faileth not in a ceremoniall (as men vvould haue it) but in a morall dutie. His sin is not a sinne by accident, but in it selfe and most kindly a sin, directly against the law of God. *Peter Martyr* proveth at length vvhat great evils there be in the occasions of evils, *Loc.com. p.* 348. *Iunius* upon *Iude* v. 22 recordeth six things detestable to good men, the sixt vvherof is the appearance of evils, albeit in it selfe it be not evill, which he maketh plaine by the example of *Jacob*, and the like we may see in *Iosh.* 22, *Eliab*, *Daniel*. *Ierome* upon *Esay* sheweth, that by Gods stopping of the Israelites vvay vvith thornes, lest they should returne to their former lovers, that we haue need of a strong fence against Idolatry. All our Divines use this Argument against the Lutheran Images.

Quo ceremoniale loquendi genere lex imperato contineat manda quæ in eâ esse vvis homis monet Apost. quarum quarum est contagio Ipsius enim sit Ambrosius nõ solum crimen metuit sed contactum peccati. Quintum est manda ex peccato. His adde si placet Iosuæ 2 Thess. 5 22 peccata peccati quamvis a peccato per se alienum. Affectantes itaque idolorum Iacobo omnes deos alieni populi qui erant in medio sui, & in auribus quæ erant in auribus suis exsecrandique ea Iacob sub illa quercu quæ prope Sichimorum erat Iun. in Iud. 22.

Archipp. Thinke ye that there is a divine determination paſſed upon the urged Ceremonies, and that they fall in any ſort under the law morall?

Epaph. I put it out of queſtion. Beſides the evill of Scandall, in reſpect wherof, they be by accident ſinnes, and forbidden in the fixt commandement: beſide their externall ſuperſtition and idolatry, vvhich cannot be denied more then that the glance of the eye, that a geſture or a raſh vvord of anger, are Adultery and Murther by Chriſts own determination. And as to command ſuch glances of the eye, and vvords or geſtures of that ſort, howſoever they ſeeme nothing in the eye of the world, were in Gods eſtimation to command adulterie and murther, and to obey ſuch lawes were to obey men rather then God: ſo muſt we judge of authoritie and obedience in the other. I ſay, beſides that, they are many otherwaies tranſgreſſions of the ſecond commandement 1 in that they are occaſions and ſhewes or appearance of another ſuperſtition and Idolatry more groſſe and abominable For they are of that kind of evill actions, vvherein there be two evils, one externall, that is ſeen to be done; another internall imported and ſignified by that vvhich is done, vvhich alſo is ſometimes done, & ſometimes not done, according to the quality of the minde, & ſecret intention of the doer. For if the perill be great, & the doer ſimple, as vvhen ignorant people kneel at the Sacrament, both the evils concurre. Another not ſo vvell informed as *Peter* Iudaizing vvith him and by his example, might haue been indeed as ſuperſtitious as any of the Iewes, vvhich he ſeemed onely to be. And ſo it falleth out, that there is a double guiltines, both upon the ſtrong and upon the weak. Becauſe they who are ſtrong, fall under the outward tranſgreſſion, and by their example make the vveak vvho can not diſtinguiſh and diſcern ſo punctually fall under the inward tranſgreſſion; vvhen vvith them they are committing the outward: 2 They are tranſgreſſions of the ſecond commandment, as they be inventions of man, and vvill worſhip, or imitations of the enemies of God, and a draught of that wine of Babels fornication wherwith the inhabitants of the earth haue been made drunk, Revel. 17 2, vvherof Gods people ought not to taſt at all, *I am the Lord your God, after the doing of the land of Egypt vvherein yee dvvell ſhall yee not doe, Levit.* 18. *Take heed to thy ſelfe that thou be not ſnared by following them, Deut.* 12. 3 As tranſlations (at leaſt ſome of them) of Gods own inſtitutions; Miniſters like Gods Miniſters, dayes, altars, veſtures likewiſe; the ſinne of Ieroboam ordaining a feaſt like unto the feaſt in Iudah, 1 King 12 32 wherin the Proverbiall truth holds, that *the liker the ape is to man, the more deformed it is.* To leave this firſt main determination of indiffe-

The urged ceremonies tranſgreſſions againſt the firſt determination of the law Morall.

indifferencie, let the stretching out of the hand, and bowing of the knee in their nature be equally indifferent, and the one capable of good and evill as well as the other: yet after determination of both by circumstances from God, if vve condemne the one and command the other, we may condemn murder and command idolatrie, condemn the transgression of the second and command the transgression of the first table.

Archipp. The Indifferencie of these ceremonies being taken away by divine determination of the morall law, as ye haue made it sensible, all the vvorld cannot make them good or indifferent againe. As the fault of the first concoction cannot be mended in the second nor third, so the errour of the first deliberation upon these matters can neither be cured by the canon of the Kirk, nor by the law of the Country. It vvere good either to recant and vomit them up againe, or else to let them passe with the excrements by the dungport. For good nourishment I feare shall they never proue, but daily more and more the face of the Kirk shall become pale, her knees feeble, and armes vveak, till all her beautie and strength be gone. Your promise and my desire leades you now to the second determination.

Second determination ceremonial.

Epaph. The second I called Ceremoniall and Nationall, making things ceremonially good or evill, cleane or uncleane, and therefore to be used or not to be used by the people of the Iewes by reason of divine institution, which before in respect of morall and universall determination were left indifferent, as having nothing intrinsecally in their own nature, or by vertue of inherent circumstances, vvhich might make them good or evill.

Aliis sacramentis prænuntiari Christum cum venturus esset, aliis cum venisset, annuntiari oportuit, sicut modo nos id ipsum loquentes diversitas rerum etiam compulit verba mutare, siquidem aliud est prænuntiare aliud annuntiari, aliud cum venturus esset, aliud cum venisset. August. epist. 5. Immutabilis mutabilium sicut creator ita moderator, donec universi sæculi pulchritudo cuius partes ... quæ suis quibusque temporibus aptæ sunt veluti magnum carmen cuiusdam ineffabilis moderatoris excurrat atque inde transeat in æternam contemplationem speciei quæ deum tite colunt etiam cum tempus est fidei, August. ibid.

Archip. There vvas a time vvhen the Iewish ceremonies vvere not, there is a time now vvhen they are not: and in the time vvherin they vvere, they vvere not ever in the same estate. If yee intend a comparison of our ceremonies vvith theirs, I would haue the times distinguished, and everie thing considered in the owne time.

Epaph. They had their conception not onely in Gods purpose, who did foresee from everlasting, what forme of worship was most convenient for every time, & in himself unchangeable did change accordingly: but also in the practise of the Patriarchicall Kirk observing the seven precepts of *Noah*, and Circumcision the

seale

seale of the covenant with *Abraham*. Next, they had their being in their birth, vvhen the Lord brought his first born from Ægypt, through the wombe of the read sea, and their infancie during the 40 yeares peregrination, and their perfection while they were established at the temple in Canaan: they had their death when Iesus their life died upon the crosse, and ascended unto heaven, leauing them behind as a dead corps to be buried: and their burriall when the Gospell vvas preached through the world, and the Temple his typicall body demolished, under the rubbish whereof they were to be layd without hope of resurrection. And so the estate of ceremonies in respect of this second determination, may be laid before your eyes in foure periods of time: 1. before the giving of the law, 2. before the death of Christ, 3. before the destruction of the temple, and 4. from that time to the end of the world. In the first time they were possible, and more then possible, for by their forerunners they were likely to be. In the second time they had a being but mortall; and yet during that time they were necessarie. In the third time they were dead, and no such necessitie that they should be: and in the last time they are deadly, they may not be.

Distinction of the ceremoniall law in 4 periods of time.

1 Non esse non esse.
2 Necesse esse.
3 Non necesse esse.
4 Necesse non esse & impossibile esse.

Archip. Now let me know somewhat more of their estate in every one of these periods. And first before the giving of the Law.

Epaph. In that first time, as it was not a thing indifferent to the kirk of God to refuse, or to alter any ceremony, which the Lord had sanctified for his worship: no more was it indifferent to institute either by their owne invention, or by imitation of the children of men, any rite or ceremony for the vvorship of God: for by so doing they had transgressed the law morall, or the law of nature, commanding all men vvho haue any sence of a Godhead, to receiue and not to giue rules of vvorship. The holy care of the old Patriarches was to reverence and obey that which they had received, and to attend vpon further direction.

Estate of ceremonies before the giuing of the law.

Archip. That was a happy care, and worthy of imitation: but vvhat say you of the Iewish ceremonies betwixt the giving of the law, and the comming of Christ: for during that time, the lavv of ceremonies vvas in her glory.

Epaph In that second time there vvere to be found among the Iewes three divers sorts of observations; The first vvere altogether divine, delivered in particular by *Moses* from the Lord, either to be shadovves of things to come, or to bee a singular forme of vvorship in the kirk during that time. The second sort vvere partly divine, and partly humane, vvhen the generall vvas divine and necessary either by the lavv of nature, or by some ceremoniall institution

In the time of the law 3 sorts of Iewish ceremonies.
1 Diuine.
2 Diuine-humane.

institution, but the particular left without determination from God, as being in it selfe most indifferent, variable, and therefore difficult, if not impossible to determine by general and unchangeable rule; Then man behoved to determine in the particular, not at his pleasure, but according to the tenor of the law morall; that is, being persuaded that the matter was indifferent; and so having faith for the first condition, hee behoved for the second to rule all by loue, that is, to haue respect to Gods honour, and mans salvation.

Archip. I think ye can hardly giue examples of this sort; there being nothing in the whole worship left without particular determination.

Epaph. It is nothing hard; for of this sort were the houres of the morning and evening sacrifice, their synagogues, oratories & places of worship through the land, the outward order of their ordinarie meetings, their course of reading, &c. their pulpits & chaires, the times of fasting (except that one expressed in the law) according to the calamities and occurrences of the kirk; whatsoever was Ecclesiasticall in their forms of mariage & buriall. Some things behoved to be done in the sacramẽt of circumcision, albeit not sacramental, which was not expressed. The great multitude of prescribed ceremonies made also a multitude of particular cases to be determined by themselves; That we may say, the moe ceremonies the moe questions; the more determinations, the more to be determined.

Archip. To confesse the truth, all these things behoved to bee done, and yet there is no particular direction for them in Moses law. Which is the third sort of obseruations?

‡ Humans. *Epaph.* The third kind were neither meerely divine, nor mixed, but merely humane of mans invention, or at least of mans institution, such were the fastings, oathes, washings, *νιπτρα*, offerings, ponance, prayers, Phylacteries, &c. of the Hasidæans and Pharises, taxed by our Saviour as the commandements of men.

Archip. Want are the differences of good and evill in these three sorts of obseruations?

Difference of good and evil in three sorts of ceremonies. *Epaph.* Ceremonies of the first sort, albeit by the law of nature indifferent, yet by force of divine institution, they become positiuely good. Albeit they were by nature changable, the kirk had no power to change them; all their changes were from their first authour; for some of them were ordained onely for an houre to bee used in an individuall action, as the 4 obseruations in the first Passover, Exod. 12. Some onely for the time of the Wildernesse, as their altars of earth, and rough stones without degrees, both which were changed in Canaan. Some lasted till after the Iudges, that the kingdome was established; some to *Salomons* time, some

some to the captivitie, some to the preaching of the Gospell, and some during the whole time of the policie of the Iewes. It was not lawfull for the Kirk either to to institute new formes, or to recall the old, but still they vvere to wait upon the mouth of the Lord. Ceremonies of the second sort were properly about things indifferent, and adherent circumstances, and were then good when they were institute in faith and loue. Even as the pillar of fire and cloud went before Israel in the wildernesse, and pointed at their encampings; yet the wisedome of Iethro in respect of particular commodities and incommodities, of straits or mountaines, was to them in stead of eyes, Num. 10. The kirk might then as now, giue manifold direction in particulars, but still holding her eye upon her leader. The third sort was alwayes damnable: for albeit the Pharises were counted vvise, 1. Cor. 1. 20. *Where is the Wise, Where is the Scribe? There is more in the Words of the Wise, then in the Words of the Law*, yet all their wisedome is but leaven in Gods eye, vvhile they teach for doctrines the traditions of men.

Archip. I think it very necessary to think upon these 3 kinds of observations, vvhile I think upon the estate of the ceremoniall law during the vigor thereof. Now come to the third time, and the estate of ceremonies in it.

Estate of ceremonies before the destruction of the Temple.

Epaph. All the ceremonies, vvhich continued till the third time, during that time, are by common consent esteemed indifferent, not onely being free of the first morall determination, vvhich they never had nor could haue, but also of the second ceremoniall determination, vvhich they had before the death of Christ.

Archip. Was it then a thing indifferent for all Christians, vvhether Iewes or Gentiles, to use or not to use the Iewish ceremonies in all places, and after vvhat sort they pleased?

Epaph. God forbid ye should think so. It was not lawfull for the Gentiles to obserue them for the space of an houre, Gal. 2. 14. 18. & 5. 1. 1. & 6. 12. Act. 21. 25. The Iewish ceremonies were the same to the Gentiles now, vvhich they were to the Iewes before they vvere institute, and after they were abolished.

Archip. What say you then to the decree of the Councell of Ierusalem? Act. 15. vvas not the observation of legall ceremonies imposed upon the Gentiles at that time?

Quapropter recte Apostoli consuluerunt ecclesiæ Dei, ut pij omnes a violanda priore legis tabula (quod Idololatria vel polluuent si-

Epaph. The conclusion of that councell, as it is taken vp by learned *Iunius*, will give you greater satisfaction then all that I can say: *Wherefore* (sayth hee) *the Apostle gaue good advice to the Kirke of God, that all the godly should abstaine from violating the first table of the Law, which is signified by Idolatry, and the pollution of Idols: from violating the second table of the Law,*

which

which is contained under the name of fornication: And from violating the conſcience of their brethren in things indifferent, which is declared by the name things ſtrangled, and blood: whereby yee may ſee that the generall vvas a morall dutie, and that the Gentiles at this time were tied to no practiſe. Neither at any time did the Apoſtles impoſe any ceremony upon any perſon or fellowſhip, that eſteemed them unlawfull: neither would they grant libertie to the Gentiles to uſe the ceremonies, vvhich among the Iewes were indifferent.

mulacrorum ſignificatur, et a violanda poſſe mere, quod tum Synecdochice nomine Scortationis præ ceteris abſ & a violanda fratrum conſcientia in rebus adiaphoris abſtinent, quod nomine ſuffocati & ſanguinis ſuis declaratum. Iunius de politia Moſis. cap. 8.

Archip. Might the Iewes who had the ceremonies at that time for indifferent, uſe them at their pleaſure?

Epaph. No creature may uſe the leaſt thing at his pleaſure. The Iewes behoved to retaine them for a vvhile, as things both in nature and uſe indifferent, That is, 1 with aſſurance of their indifferencie, or without opinion of neceſſitie, 2. vvithout ſcandall, that the corps might bē buried with honour. The Apoſtolick practiſes vvhich vvere at Ieruſalem, not at Antioch, amongſt the Iewes, not amongſt the Gentiles, were but ſo many ſteps to their grave. And the Apoſtolick preaching both at Antioch and Ieruſalem, were the dead ſound of the ſilver trumpet of the vvord, and open proclamations that they vvere departed, that their life Ieſus vvas no more in them, but in heaven, and that therefore they were to be buried.

Non ſimulate ſed religioſe non enim deſerenda cum timore vel inuicorum oblectationibus tanquam eorum moribus projicienda Auguſtin.

Archip. The Apoſtle ſayth at ſome times, that they are nothing, and ſometimes, that Circumciſion aboliſheth the vertue of Chriſts death.

Epaph In reſpect of their indifferencie he ſaith, that circumciſion is nothing, and the fore skin is nothing, but the keeping of the commandements of God; and therefore he circumciſed Timothy, and Iudaized among the Iewes, that he might win the Iewes. Againe, in reſpect of their neceſſitie and ſuperſtitious obſervation, as though they had the ſame force now, vvhich they had before, he ſaith, that *if they were circumciſed, Chriſt could profit them nothing.*

Their eſtate after their buriall.

Archip. I come now to enquire of their eſtate after their buriall.

Epaph. Their eſtate in that time is a meere nullitie: Their naked obſervation, which before was indifferent, become unlawfull: And whoſoever he be that keepeth them now, albeit he were a Iew, denieth Chriſt. After their funerall they haue no more being

Ac proinde quicquis nunc chriſtianorum quamvis ſit ex Iudæis ſimiliter ſepultus eſt, ac ſi vir tanquam ſepultus eſt mortuus non erit plus de duſtus vel bajulus corporis ſed impius ſepulturæ violator. Aug. *Cerimoniæ Iudæorum & permiſſa fuere ut mortuæ chriſtianis & quicunque ut eas obſervarent ſive ex Iudæis ſive ex Gentibus cum in Babylonem diaboli devolvimus.* Idem.

then before their birth. Mans inſtitution of them then, and his obſervation of them now, are equally unlawfull. And as circumciſion had been unlawfull to the Gentiles before in the time of the *Interim*, *Gal.* 5 2, ſo would it now haue been to the Iewes.

Archip. Was it not after their buriall that the Apoſtle practiſed, *Act.* 16 & 21?

Epaph. Some graue Diuines (whom for Honours ſake I will not name) that they may leaue a back dore open for feſtivall daies obſerued in the Kirk wherein they liue, vvill haue the ceremonies to be buried at the time of the Councell, *Act.* 15, and force themſelues to interpret their buriall in reſpect of the opinion of neceſſitie, and not of obſervation. As though the obſervation of them without that opinion were yet lawfull, and were not Iudaicall, which were rather to beare downe the opinion of men, then to bury the bodie of *Moſes*; to giue him the buriall of an Aſſe, and to miſtake the decree or ſentence concerning the buriall it ſelfe. All vvhich abſurdities muſt follow the diſtinction of daies, even in the naked neceſſity of obſervation vvithout the conceit of ſuperſtition: ſeeing the Inſtitution of new daies, or imitation of the daies of the Gentiles can be no better then the continuation, imitation or tranſlation of the daies of the Iewes.

Archip. I haue learned of all that ye haue ſaid of this ſecond determination; that the practiſe of the Iewiſh ceremonies in the firſt time, before the inſtitution had been unlawfull; that in the ſecond time after their inſtitution it vvas acceptable worſhip: that the opinion of neceſſity vvhich vvas good in the ſecond time, was in the third time unlawfull: and that their obſervation vvhich vvas indifferent, and being vvel uſed vvas good in the third time, is unlawfull in the fourth time. It vvas a ſin firſt to obſerue them at all; next to obſerue them as indifferent; thirdly, as neceſſary; and fourthly at all. But I haue not learned to make the comparison right betwixt them and our ceremonies.

Epaph. The controverted and Iewiſh ceremonies haue ſome things like, and ſome things unlike, as may thus appeare. The Iewiſh and controverted ceremonies parelled.

Iewiſh Ceremonies,	*Similitude.*	*Controverted.*
	In the firſt time,	
A ſin to obſerue the one at all.	——	*A ſin to obſerue the other at all.*
	In the ſecond time,	
Will-worſhip and Traditions of the Phariſees damnable.	——	*Will-worſhip and Traditions of men damnable.*

In the third time.

Yokes not to be borne, shewes of Religion, turning from the truth, impotent and beggarly rudiments, &c.	Yokes not to be borne, shewes of Religion, turning from the truth, impotent and beggarly rudiments, &c.

In the fourth time.

A sin to obserue the one at all.	A sinne to obserue the other at all.

Disimilitude.

In the first time.

The one was possible, non necesse non esse.	The other impossible. Necesse non esse.

In the second time.

The one of divine institution.	The other of humane invention.
The one from their infancie brought to perfection by the particular directions of God.	The other from their infancie brought to their perfection by the subtill operations of Satan.
The one to bring on the mysterie of piety, and to be a pedagogue leading to Christ.	The other to set up the mysterie of iniquity, and to be a pedagogue leading to Antichrist.
The one to liue for a time, and after to die.	The other to liue for all time, and never to die.

In the third time.

The one never imposed upon any who esteemed them unlawfull.	The other most urged upon the who esteems them unlawfull.
The one forbidden the conuerted Gentiles who before were free of them.	The other commanded Reformed Kirkes, before freed from them.

The

The one tolerated among the Iewes who had them before to dim the obſtinate and keep the Deake.	*The other commanded to Chriſtians, who had them not before, to obdure the obſtinate, and tyne the Deake.*
The one comming from heaven worthy of an honourable buriall.	*The other comming from hell worthy of the buriall of the uncircumciſed.*
The one going from their death to their graue, never to riſe againe.	*The other growing from their graue to their life, never to reſt againe.*

In the fourth time.

The one being buried are deadly to the converted Iewes to whom they were firſt neceſſary and after indifferent.	*The other being abolished are obtruded upon Reformed Kirkes, who once had them for Idolatrous, never for indifferent.*

Archip. If ye vvould compare the Iewiſh ceremonies vvith things indifferent in the Chriſtian Kirk, I vvould trouble you no further in this point.

Epaph. As they be unlike to the controverted ceremonies both in nature and uſe: ſo are they unlike to all Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions concerning things indifferent in nature albeit not in uſe. The Apoſtolick rules are perpetuall for the uſe of all things indifferent in all the following times of the Kirk. But never was there, nor ſhall there be heereafter, any time of the Kirk wherein there can be found things indifferent of that nature. For 1 thay vvere once of divine authority, and behoved to be kept a vvhile; After that they entred into their indifferencie, that the Sinagogue might be ſolemnly buried: 2 After that obſervation there was a neceſſity of their exautoration, albeit the rules had been followed moſt ſtrictly. Neither of the two can be ſaid of things indifferent in the Chriſtian Kirk. All which if *M. Sprint* had more unpartially conſidered, he had written a book rather of the neceſſity of Deprivation in caſe of Conformity. And not onely he but all others, except ſuch as take the Pope for the Apoſtle his ſucceſſor, would change their Apoſtolick & Apoſtaticall paralells in miſſalls, their cunning compoſition into hote oppoſition. One thing is neceſſary, but vvorldly neceſſity breeds manifold neceſſity, neceſſity of hereſie, neceſſity of profanity, neceſſity of iniquity, neceſſity of Epiſcopacy, neceſſity of apoſtacy, neceſſity of Conformity

Iewiſh ceremonies & things indifferent in the Chriſtian Kirk compared.

formity but onely in the case of Deprivation.

Archip. You haue given me greater light in this ceremoniall controversie by that which ye haue said of that first and second determination, I thanke God for it, then ever I had before; and haue put me in good hope that ye will yet breake up a greater light for my full information when yee enter upon your third determination.

Epaph. That Sunne of righteousnesse shine upon my dark mind that ye may haue some of my borrowed light, and both may be led to life in him who dwelleth in light. What it shall please his exceeding goodnesse to communicate I shall not hide under a bushell. The third and last determination is Evangelicall and Christian.

Third determination Evangelical

Archip. What difference make ye betwixt this and the former?

Epaph. It is like the first, and unlike the second in immutability, for Christ hath spoken in the last times, Heb. 1. 1. Like the second and unlike the first in institution: for the last determination under the Gospell is not naturall but positiue. As the Lord made a positiue Ordinance for Circumcision so also for Baptisme: And as a lamb was ordained for the Passeover, so bread and wine for the Communion. As it vvas made knowne by the first law vvhat vvas morally good and evill; by the second vvhat was ceremonially good or evill: so by this third determination it may be knowne distinctly and particularly vvhat is good or evill in the Christian Kirk to the end of the vvorld. With this difference that the law Moral stands constant as a certain & unalterable rule both in time of the ceremonies, and in time of the Gospell. But as it vvas unlawfull to use Evangelicall ceremonies in the time of the Law because the Lord had not as yet institute them, so is it unlawfull to use Iudaicall ceremonies in the time of the Gospell because divine authority hath abolished them. Both stand with the law morall, but are incompatible betwixt themselues: both also are incompatible with the ceremonies of pagans and idolaters, and vvith all humane inventions.

Archip. Seeing the Ceremonies of the Iewes are antiquat, is it not lawfull for the Christian Kirk to appoint new ceremonies in their place?

Epaph. D. *Downam* hath been in a great slumber vvhen he wrot pag. 69 of Christian liberty: That as it is lawfull for Lawgivers to make civill Lawes in stead of the abolished judicial Law, that it is also lawfull for the Kirk, in her Provincionall, Nationall or Generall Synode to establish lawes Ecclesiasticall, in place of the abrogated law of Ceremonies: for vvhat vvere that else but to erect a new Ceremoniall law in place of the old, & to make

is necessary albeit not by necessity of divine precept, as the former was during that time, yet to the wreck of Christian liberty by the necessity of mans commandement. Onely he that maketh summer to succeed after winter, the night to day, old age after youth, may set down one forme of worship after another. The saying of *Vindicianus* the witty Physition: The medicine workes not because I directed it not. *Quis ego non jussi*, belongeth to the Lord in matters of his worship, *August. epist. 5.*

Si non necessitate medii aut precepti divini ad talem necessitatem precepti humani in Christiana subversum libertatis & divini & humani juris equipondium.

Archip. He seemes to haue gone too farre, and I thinke in the Reformed Kirkes will find few followers. Yet I am sure the Lord who hath appointed Kirk Assemblies hath granted them some power, and where in can the power be, except it be in matters of Ceremonie?

Epaph. That I deny not: yet many are mistaken in taking up that power. And so was I for a long time, till I began in simplicity of heart to make the right comparison, betwixt the Christian and Iudaicall Kirk, the morall law keeping equall force in both.

Three sorts of ordinances in the Christian Kirk compared with the three sorts of Iewish ceremonies.
1 Divine *divina.*
2 Divine *humana.*
3 *Humana.*
1 *Divina inventa.*
2 *Ecclesiastica sanctiones.*
3 *Humana inventiones.*

Archip. I would gladly heare of that comparison, that I may be as ye are, who am as ye was.

Epaph. As in the Kirk of the Iewes there were three sorts of Ordinances, some merely Divine, some mixed, and some meerly humane: so haue there been answerably the same three kindes in the Christian Kirk; Divine Institutions, Ecclesiastick Constitutions, & humane inventions, (for so may they be named for distinction sake.) The Christian Kirk hath divine institutions as the Kirk of the Iewes had: the Kirk of the Iewes behoved to haue Ecclesiastick constitutions as the Christian Kirk hath. And both the kirk of the Iewes and the Christian Kirk, through Satans subtill tentation, and mans presuming superstition, haue been polluted with traditions of men and will-worship. Now when men will haue Ecclesiastick constitutions in the Christian Kirk, whether they be alone or joyned with divine to succeed lineally to divine institutions in the Iewish Kirk, and when men will haue their own traditions or inventions in the Christian Kirk, to answer Ecclesiastick or Divine constitutions in the Iewish Kirk: they goe awry, either not knowing what Christian liberty is, or else wittingly turning it into licentiousnesse. They abridge Gods marches, and inlarge their owne.

Archip. What comparison make ye then betwixt Divine Institutions in the one Kirk and the other?

Divine institutions in the one and the other Kirk compared.

Epaph. Divine institution of Legall & Evangelicall worship is equally full & cõpleat in all things necessary, & that could conveniently bedetermined according to the cõmendation of good lawes, which leaue as little undetermined & without the compasse of the

Law as may be. Giving of lawes is no part of Christian liberty under the Gospell more then under the Law. The King of the Kirk is her onely Lawgiver at all time.

Archip. Equally full and compleat, that cannot be: for divine institutions under the law were many in respect of the few institutions under the Gospell.

Epaph. Yee vvill say vvith me it must be, if yee consider that in the ceremoniall law of *Moses* there vvere two things to be distinguished, number and light, multitude and direction; the one vvas a burthen, the other a benefite; the one a yoke, the other an ease. Evangelicall liberty makes the Christian Kirk free of the number and multitude: but the perfection of the Law-giver aboue *Moses* suffereth him not to giue lesse perfect and particular direction. We haue not multitudes of Sacrifices and Sacraments as the Iewes had. But our information concerning our few and easie Sacraments in every thing necessary and lawfull is as plaine and perfect, and fewer questions referred to the Kirkes decision now then at that time. As then negatiue conclusions from the Ceremoniall law vvere good, and affirmatiue bad; so are they now from the Gospell. They concluded thus, it is not commanded therefore it is not lawfull: and not thus; it is not forbidden, therfore it is lawfull; and so must vve now. Affirmatiue conclusions of that sort are indirect accusations of the vvord of God, and direct challenges of the personall ignorance of men, vvho for the most part can as little giue a sufficient reason from Scripture against Arrian heresie, as against kneeling at the Communion. Our knowledge ought to be fundamentally positiue, and occasionally privatiue. It is vvell if vve can giue a reason for our owne practise from the Word, albeit vve cannot bring a place of Scripture against each errour that breaketh out of every crazie brain: It is a safer conclusion in health to say this agreeable to my constitution therefore I vvill use it: then, I knovv no harme this can doe, therefore I vvill use it. The Author to the Hebrewes reasoneth many times negatiuely in that Epistle: The Ancients use it frequently against the errour of their times: The Papists use it unwittingly; and all our Writers against the Papists use it purposely: And yet it is refused in this cause by our Adversaries to us.

Theologia in subjecto non adæquat Theologiam in objecto. Rectum est sui & obliqui norma. Nihil extra, præter aut cõtra Scripturam, nihil nisi ex scriptura doceri debet aut potest. Nisi quis forte naturam in suo genere perfectam, Scripturam vero minus perfectam statuat ac proinde magis in natura Deum quam in Scriptura sapuisse Inn. Thes. disp. 6 thes. 9.

Archip. No marvell, for it hath place onely in matters dogmaticall and of faith, not in matters Traditionall and of Ceremony.

Epaph.

Epaph. The vvord also must be the soule that giveth life to the ceremonies vvithout vvhich they are but dead carkasses. But lest ye be miscarryed any longer in this point: I aske first if the Romane Kirk vvould enjoyne Chrisme, extreme unction, holy Water (vvhich D. *Morton* alledgeth for examples against the Papists) onely as Traditionall, or in their nature indifferent, and not as things necessary to salvation, vvhether vvould his vvords make against her. See ye not, because these things are not contained in holy Scripture therefore to be of no vvorth; for the observation of such ceremonies are not in Scripture more then the superstition of them. I aske next, whether the Crosse in Baptisme, Surplice, Holy-daies, kneeling at the Communion &c. may not bee ranked vvith Chrisme, holy water, &c. that opinion of necessity being removed. Thirdly, I aske vvhether a simple affirmation that the ceremonies questioned are indifferent vvith a subtill and vehement urging of them more then of matters of greatest necessity vvithout any demonstration of their indifferencie, be either sufficient proofes that they are intended for things indifferent by the Vrgers, or sufficient information to Pastors and people to judge of them as of things indifferent. Doe not the Lutherans after this manner remoue Sacramentall fraction, defend their images, Auricular Confession. And vvhat ceremony is there in all Paganisme, Iudaisme; vvhat amongst the Papists or Luthetans: vvhat of the vvhole Altar of Damascus that may not be brought in under the vale of Indifferency. If it be sufficient to say that it is not urged as necessary to salvatio: He that enforceth them as necessarie, & affirmeth they are indifferent; & he that practiseth vvith them & preacheth against them, is like him *Prou. 26. As a man who casteth fire-brands, arrowes and death, so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour and saith, Am not I in sport.* Practise, command, compulsion are better copies of the mind, then profession in men who pretend they doe nothing against conscience. And people vvho are more moved vvith vvhat they see then vvhat they heare, may say vvhat doe vve heare vvords vvhile wee see deeds. Were there hearts as free of the vvorld as *P. Martyrs* vvas, they vvould perhaps deplore their case vvith him; and confesse the vexation of their conscience in practising and urging rites of that sort as he did.

Verbum Dei tanquam anima est quæ ceremonias vivificat sublato verbo quicquid rituum observant homines etiamsi externa specie pietatum observationi conveniat nihil aliud est quam putida & sæua superstitio. Nouit videt. illa quia in Sacrosancto hoc pharmacopolio non continentur prorsus nullius esse pretii, D. Morto.

Quid verba audiam cum facta videam. Vos minime fugiunt cruciatus quibus angebatur conscientia mea præteritum quam sæpe[bis] vita rationem innumeris quotidie superstitionibus contaminando erat. Superstitiosa ritus non solum mihi peragendi: verumetiam ab aliis importune exigendi multa fatebar dare quam sentiebam & docebam, p. 1073.

Archip. I see now that albeit the multitude of precepts be not so great, yet the divine direction is as plaine and perfect under the Gospell,

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Gospell as ever it was before. Come to the second part of the comparison betwixt Ecclesiastick constitutions under the Law and under the Gospell, vvherin I foresee the greatest difficulties.

Second sort compared.

Epaph. Heere indeed properly commeth in the consideration of things indifferent by Ecclesiasticall authority determinable: a subject in Divinity most like that of time, place, motion in naturall Philosophy. If yee aske not vvhat they are every man knoweth: But if aske vvhat they are, no man can tell you. A subject disputed mightily, but determined weakly; as most neerely touching the outward face of every Kirk in the eyes of the world, and the crownes and bellies of Kirkmen in their own feeling. And hence on all sides so full of prejudice and heat of contention that it hath almost ruined the Kingdome of Christ, set up the kingdome of Antichrist, divided Pastors, offended people, dismembred the Kirk, and onely not put out the very life of true piety. Oh that it would please the Lord at last to pitie the Kirke redeemed with his bloud, and that vine vvhich his right hand hath planted. O Lord our God who hast in former times gotten renowme to thy name amongst us; and seest how this day we are become a reproach to all that are about us, cause yet thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate for the Lords sake. O Lord heare, O Lord forgive, O Lord hearken and doe, deferre not for thy owne sake ô our God, for thy people are called by thy name. Open our eyes ô father of Lights, for if we be so blind in things lying before our feet, what know we in the high mysteries of the Gospell: if we swimme in these shallow foords of practise, how shall we wade the bottomlesse seas of thy vvisedome. Give us the simplicitie of the Lamb, banish from us procacitie and disdainfull sharpnesse of vvit: subdue our distempered affections that vve presume not to frame rules for thy worship; cut them off vvho seek to please themselues by displeasing thee, vvho build up their worldly estates upon the ruines of thy Kirk. Save us all from perfidiousnesse against thee, and that deere mother Kirk in vvhose bowels we have our first and second birth, and in vvhose skirts we are nursed to this day. Behold hee commeth in the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pearced him, and all kinreds of the earth shall waile because of him: even so, Amen.

Archip. Thrice happy were that man vvhom the Lord would honour to be an instrument of Pacification by manifesting the truth to every mans conscience in this so long-lasting controversie. I see that the most part agree in the generall, both about the nature and about the use of things indifferent: As enuntiations of things contingent are necessary and not contingent. So the

generall

generall Axiomes of things indifferent and variable are not indifferent but invariable in all ages and nations. The true doctrine of indifferencie is the same in Scotland, England, Germany &c. The same in the times of the old and new Testament. The Apostolick rules of respect to Gods glory, to order and decency, to scandall and edification, are no new precepts, but the expositon of the law Morall, requiring loue to God & our neighbour: and transgressed as well by the Pharisees of old, as by their successors since. Wherein then standeth the greatest diversity and difficulty?

Sicut singulorum & cõtingentia ita & indifferentium datur omnis scientia in alijs ſignato.

Epaph. Ye will finde it to be in the Application of these generall rules to the particulars controverted in diverse Kirkes. The Roman Kirk hath an unwritten Word for all that, they will haue embraced beside, that which they finde in Scripture. The Lutherane Kirks hold somethings for indifferent which the Kirk of England findeth to be condemned in the Word; and England defends a multitude of Ordinances about Discipline and ceremonies for indifferent, which we take to be unlawfull, and besides the warrant of the Word: the matter going with severall Kirks, every one judging according to her own measure of Reformation, as with severall Christians every one judging according to his owne degree of grace and regeneration. And what wonder if all the reformed Kirkes creeped not forth of that Romane deluge equally accomplished; what greater wonder then that any should be found free of the smell of that wine of fornication, whereof they all for so many yeares were drunke.

Archip. For making the right application; of necessity two points must be insisted upon. 1 How and by what notes I shall know such accidentall, circumstantiall and individuall ceremonies as are the proper object of mans determination. And thus what particulars are left to be in nature indifferent. 2 After what sort must the determination of man passe upon them, that the actions about things indifferent may be good; and so of their use. For the first *Lambertus Danæus* giveth some light (a) while he distinguisheth betwixt things essentiall and things accidentall in the discipline of the Kirk. All things are essentiall that are set down there concerning the office and election of Ecclesiastick persons. Things accidentall are such as concerne the particular manner and forme of doing of things essentiall, as may serue best for the com-

(a) Discrimen ... de disciplina ... personis, quæ ... Ann. cap. 14.) ... mo, quidam accidentia, ...

Essentialia sunt omnia quæ de Electione & munere personarum Ecclesiasticarum præscribuntur. Accidentalia sunt quæ ad particularem earum rerum modum seruandum, temporum aliquam circumstantiam & cæteras quæ populi communitatem rationem habendam pertinent, vtilis quæstio Epistopo fit in Methodandi cæremoniam, quibus libuit, quibus, quibus locis, & cætera quæ sunt huiusmodi Danæus in 1 Tim. 3 15.

modity of every people: as how oft the Bishop of the place shall preach every week, upon vvhat daies, what houre, in vvhat place, &c. And *Iunius* to the same sense. (*b*) Traditions of things consisting in circumstances may be and may not be in the Kirk; yet we acknowledge them (saith he) to be temporary, particular and free. He citeth *Seneca* to this effect saying. Some things are not known but by him that is present. The Physitian cannot chuse the time of meat or medicine for his patient by letter, the veine must be touched. And the fencer must advise vvhen he is now entred vvithin the listes. I thinke both say well to the purpose. What thinke yee?

(*b*) *Quæcunque in circumstantiis posita sunt eorum traditiones in Ecclesia esse aut nõ esse posse, veruntamen tẽporales, particulares & liberas agnoscimus; quædam non nisi à præsente monstrantur (ait Seneca) non potest medicus per Epistolas cibi aut balnei tempus eligere, vena, tangenda est, vetus proverbium est gladiatorem in arena capere consilium, Iun. disp. 6 Thes. 11 12.*

Epaph. Ye haue both taken up the points very right, and haue observed good grounds for the first. It cannot be denyed but there is a mutability, and oftentimes a necessity of mutation in Ecclesiastick Canons as well as in Civill Lawes, and that upon two grounds; one is the condition of the persons that make the constitutions vvho may become wiser and profite in knowledge in such measure that they be brought to the sight of their former errours or inexpediency of preceding constitutions. In this case, (*c*) it is a happy necessity that compelleth men to doe better. The other ground is the nature of the subject vvhereupon, and the constitution of the persons for vvhom the Canons are made, vvith other circumstances variable. (*d*) And therefore the Apostle saith vvell of one sort of Lawes, *saith the Lord.* But of this sort, *I say, not the Lord.* (*e*) As there is a generall wisedome considering vvhat is lawfull, so there is a particular prudence judging according to the occurrences vvhat is expedient. Without these two cases, when either the matter is not variable; or the matter being variable, the change is not to the better, it is both without and against reason to change: vvithout reason because vvhen the change is made into that vvhich is as good, the one & the other in reason is equall: against reason (*f*) because the very change hindereth the common edification, bringeth the discredite of inno-

(*c*) *Foelix est necessitas quæ in meliora cõpellit.*

(*d*) *Nam alia lux infanti fertur, alia viro, alia aratori serenti, alia metenti alia coelibi, alia conjugato. Iun. de Polit. Mosis c. 4.*

(*e*) [illegible], [illegible], Coloss. 1 9. *Quisquis res immutabiles ratione & modo immutabili administrandas & procurandas putat, is domi prudentiam parentum in regendis liberis, ruri peritiam aratorum in colendis agris, in alto peritiam nautarum in observandis ventis damnaturus est: et dum constantem perpetuamque rationem servare putat, res ipsas quibus ratio consulit contra rationem perditurus. Iun. eod. cap.*

(*f*) *Ipsa mutatio consuetudinis, etiam quæ militare servat, munitate perturbat.*

vation,

vation, and extenuate the authority of the Law. This poore Kirk hath the dolefull proofe of the latter. All the question is of the former; vvhether the things changed be in their nature variable. Your observation giveth some light: but the light vvill be greater both in our controverted particulars, and in the matter of indifferency in generall: if out of the humble consideration of the intention of Gods spirit in committing his vvill to writ, and of his perfect wisedome for fulfilling that intention compared with the course of the Scripture it selfe, and vvith the positions of all the Divines of the Reformed Kirks vvhose eyes haue not been blinded either vvith prejudice or loue of the vvorld, we could resolue upon two grounds.

Archip. I pray you, vvhich are these?

Epaph. One is, vvhatsoever was of that condition, vvhether under the law or the Gospell that it could not possibly or conveniently be determined by a generall and positiue law, as it behoved to be, so vvas it left to the determination of the true Kirk following the direction of the generall rules. And hence the cause is evident vvhy the divine determination under the Gospell in the Oecumenick Kirk could not be so particular as in the Nationall Kirk of the Iewes. But neither in the one nor in the other vvas there any thing left to the Kirk vvhereupon particular determination conveniently could passe before. Vnder the Law the daily sacrifice, and more particularly the morning and evening sacrifice vvere appointed; but the houre vvas left to the Kirk, because it vvas hard vvithout scruple of conscience to be tyed to that, and the precise observation thereof had been almost impossible. Vnder the Gospell the Lords day is sanctified, but the particular houre of the day for publick worship in divers Nations and seasons of the yeare could not be designed: and therefore permitted to the discretion of nationall kirks, and Particular Congregations, observing the generall rules. Vnder the Law the word behoved to be preached publickly in their Cities upon the Saboths, vvhen they came not up to Ierusalem, but no particular determination of the places and Synagogues: even so under the Gospell a publick place for publick vvorship necessary, but no particular situation nor appointing of Congregations. In Iudea, a nomination of the tribe of Levi for the Ministery, the like vvhereof could not be under the Gospell throughout the whole world, far lesse whither *Iohn* or *Iames*. Publick preaching and prayer commanded, but the individuall points of doctrine, petitions of prayer, and some other particular circumstances concerning the order and manner of worship, impossible to determine, because they must varie according to the occasion and cases

First ground for knowing what is by nature indifferent.

of perſons, places, purpoſes &c.

Archip. That ſeemeth to me both a ſure and plain ground, my ſoule bleſſeth you for it, come on with the ſecond.

Epaph. The othet is; vvhatſoever vvas unprofitable or needed not to be determined particularly by divine authority, as being moſt eaſily diſcernable by the light of nature, that is not particularly determined by the vvord, but left to the determination of the Kirk, keeping ſtill the direction of the generall rules. And hence it is manifeſt that the determination of the Scripture could not poſſible be more particular vvithout ſuperfluity. This is the perfection of that wiſedom, that it hath neither defect nor exceſſe; that it neither wanteth any thing poſſible, nor hath any thing unprofitable. It is commanded that the Paſtor ſhall preach to the people, but whether he ſhall ſtand on his head or his feet, with his face or his back turned toward them, in a high or a low pulpit, it is left to the light of nature: That Baptiſme be miniſtred with water, but as the vvater of Iudæa had been impoſſible, ſo it vvas unprofitable to determine with vvhat vvater: That the Lords Supper be celebrate in bread and wine, but as the bread and vvine of Iudæa vvas impoſſible, ſo the light of nature directs whence we ſhall haue them. The determination of the time and houre vvas not poſſible, and may be known by naturall reaſon but the geſture is determined, and albeit it had not been expreſſed, it followeth upon the table.

The ſecond ground.

Archip. I take it up: And it vvould ſeeme that your two grounds joyn together in this; that what was moſt hardly determinable in the generall by divine authority, was moſt eaſily diſcernable by natures light: And againe, what in the particular was moſt cognoſcible by naturall knowledge, vvas moſt difficult to generall determination.

Epaph. So it is, and ye ſhall ſee that being well conſidered they furniſh us vvith this threefold conſequent for our direction. Firſt, nothing meerely poſitiue, voluntary, or that floweth from free inſtitution vvithout any help of the light of nature, can bee by nature indifferent in the vvorſhip of God, or can be the matter of Eccleſiaſtick conſtitution; vvhether it come by humane invention, imitation of the enemy, or tranſlation of Gods ordinances, becauſe whatſoever is neceſſary of that ſort, is not onely poſſible, but eaſie to divine and generall determination.

A threefold conſequent out of the two former grounds.

Archip. How ſerveth that firſt conſequent for our direction?

Epaph. Becauſe hence it followeth, that wine, ſalt, ſpittle, croſſe in Baptiſme, ſurplice, kneeling in the time of receiving, feſtivall daies &c. are to be rejected. For albeit kneeling in ſome other exerciſes of Religion may be natutall, yet in communicating, it is meerely

meerely voluntary. Even as diverse religious washings under the Law were of divine institution, *Heb.* 9 10. Yet the other religious washings remembred *Matth.* 15 2, and *Mark.* 7 4. were onely of mans invention and institution, because wrong applyed, *Matth.* 15 3, *Mark.* 7 7. That vvhich is necessary by the light of nature, or by divine institution in one part of divine worship, may be positiue and vvil-worship in another. Observation of daies is of the same kind. The determination of an anniversary day is no lesse positiue, and as easily determinable by a generall law as the observation of the weekly Saboth.

Archip. Which is your second consequent?

Epaph. The second is, whatsoever is left to Ecclesiastick determination after that it is determined hath a reason from the light of nature, wherefore it vvas so determined and not otherwise, having in it a certaine expedience or a kind of necessity sensible to every one endued with naturall reason: As wherefore one houre or place rather then another is chosen for divine exercise; vvhy one person rather then another is to be a Minister; why fasting at one time and not at another; why such doctrines and petitions at one season more then another. Now the light of nature vvill never teach any to kneele in the time of eating and drinking at the Lords Table, but rather to use a Table-gesture. Nor can the light of nature giue a reason why the 25 of December should be observed, except it be pretended to be the birth day, which is evidently false, or because it is a fit time for feasting, which is both profane and sensuall.

Archip. Which is the third consequent?

Epaph. The third is; the variable matter of Ecclesiasticall determination can never be vniversall, nor concluded upon internall or generall reasons, but locall, temporall, personall, circumstantiall; otherwaies it could not be changeable, neither could it haue been left for men to determine. And therfore kneeling vvith the reason vvhereupon it is concluded, cannot bee a matter indifferent, but necessary to bee practised by all communicants in all times and places. And observation of dayes is of the same sort: for were it a thing indifferent, then one kirk vvould make choyce of one time for instructing of the people in the naitivitie, and another kirk another time. Either that observation must be necessarie or unlawfull. Everie indifferent thing is variable; and upon occasions may and must be changed: and therefore all conformitie in greater ceremonies is necessarie, because they are specified in the word, so conformitie in lesse ceremonies is vnpossible, because they depend upon circumstances variable, as conformitie in language and pronunciation, naturall disposition,

Vniformitas in majoribus ceremoniis necessaria: in minoribus impossibilis.

Archip. O vvhat a happines vvere it, if men could keep themselues vvithin their marches; and not sacrilegiously usurpe the Lords propertie. If they would make onely such matters the matter of their Ecclesiastick Canons, as the Lord had not passed any determination upon before. And by that vvhich yee haue taught me, if the vvill of men did not stand in their light, it were easie to see what things were in nature indifferent.

Epaph. It were indeed the beginning of a happines; but it might end in a miserie, if the rules concerning the use of things in nature indifferent were not observed, as vvell as their nature rightly taken up. And it feareth me, when ye haue thought upon these rules, ye shall find that we are more mistaken in the use then in the nature.

Rules for the use of things indifferent.

Archip. Some men are so licentious, that they thinke they may make their owne pleasure the rule for their use of a thing indifferent. Others are so peremptorie, that they affirme there is nothing in use indifferent. I know not what to think.

Epaph. That indifferencie hath place onely in the generall, or in the nature of the action, and not in the particular or in the use, is almost vniversally confessed, vvhile men distinguish with the Apostle betwixt our faith and our fact; vvith others betwixt our profession and our use, betwixt the naked action, and the action clothed vvith circumstances; betwixt one action generall and Individuall. Indifferencie of action can no more be found in the second sense, then it can be denied in the first. All the actions of man in his integritie vvere good; all the actions of man in glory shall be good; all the actions of man under sinne, let the matter be most indifferent in nature, are evill; and all the actions of man under grace are either good or evill, not one of them all indifferent. Were all our actions ruled by the word, as they ought to be, all our actions would be good as they ought to be. For howsoever the word be not, as it ought not to be, an Encyclopedia or generall summe of all Arts and Sciences, an vniversal directorie for all our actions, as they are naturall, civill, moral, œconomiall, yet the particular determination of all our actions falleth under the rules of the word, in so farre as they be Christian and spirituall, according to the nature of all professions and Sciences coincident for the most part in the matter, but distinct in their manner of consideration. The lifting up of a straw (the Schoolmens example) may be an evill action, and must be either good or evill, especially proceeding of deliberation. Rules of health and good manners forbid it in some cases, and so doe rulers of divinitie. There is no truth more unsavourie to the Libertine, a greater paradox to the ignorant, and of greater mocking to the worldling, and yet never denied

Distinguendum inter fidem et factũ, inter [illegible] & [illegible], inter actum nudum & circumstantiosum, Inter actum in specie & individuo, inter rem consideratam in actu signato & actu exercito.

nied by any Philosopher or divine, except some few vvho make a distinction betwixt actions proceeding of meere imagination, and actions proceeding of deliberation, in the one placing indifferencie and not in the other. The Idlenesse of which distinction might be easily shewne; but that it were not to our purpose, vvhich runneth upon matters controverted, concluded, resisted, and so proceeding of deliberation, and not from imagination. Hee that esteemeth it a matter indifferent for him to kneel or sit at the communion, to observe or not to observe a festivall day, now after it is called in question, hath neither reason nor authoritie of any vvriter for him: and therfore carrieth a note of singularie.

Archip. When I haue heard you, I cannot deny the truth, yet I am not perswaded. For first I may say, that it is *Theologia in abstracto*, and not *in concreto*. I know no man, but every day doth many things indifferently. 2. That ground will breed innumerable scruples of conscience, and is the ready vvay to beget superstition. 3. I know not vvhat things are requisite for making an action by nature indifferens, to be good, that all our actions may be good, as yee say they ought to be.

Epaph. Yet all the Divines lay it for a ground, and I would haue wished that yee had suppressed your first doubt. In many things we sinne all; idle vvords, idle gestures, lookes, &c. are scored up in the accompts of men. For the second, beware of profanity in declining of superstition. But in the second and third both, yee shall say, that ye are satisfied if yee consider, that as in naturall and artificiall bodies, produced according to the course of nature, and skill of Art, there is a concurrencie of the worker, of the matter, of the forme and of the end; for their full accomplishment and perfection before God and man say that they are good. Even so in some correspondence their must concurre the vvhole foure causes for accomplishing of every action morall or spirituall, that it may be acceptable to God. It is for the first necessary that the person or persons, efficient be *In Christ by faith*, vvithout which it is imposible to please God: that the action be with the renewing spirit of God, and of the working spirit of God. 2. the matter or substance of the action be indeed either good or indifferent in respect of the object, and that it be throughly known to be such. If it be not either good or indifferent, the action is done with an erronious conscience. If it be not knowne to be such, it is done either vvith a doubting, or unresolved or contradicting conscience. If there be a defect of both, the action is done with a

Bonum est ex integra causa, malum vero ex singulis defectibus.

Four causes concurring to make a good action

vel errante, vel dubitante, vel hæsitante, vel repugnante conscientia: conscientia enim non minus à licitis quam ab illicitis exhibet dubitantem, hæsitantem, repugnantem, vel tandem audente conscientia.

bold

bold conscience; the first is great, the second greater, the third the greatest sinne.

Archip. Nothing of all that can be denyed; what say ye of the third and fourth cause, the manner of doing and the end?

Epaph. The forme or manner of doing presupposeth the matter, either to be good in respect of the object, or to be indifferent, and requireth a conformitie with the law of God in the circumstances. For a good action may haue a twofold conformitie with the law, one is principall, and more substantiall in respect of the object, vvhich is commanded (we say *may haue*, because sometimes the obiect is indifferent.) The other consisteth in the circumstances, which sometimes make the action good or evill; sometimes onely make the good action better, or the evill worse: but haue greatest sway where the obiect is indifferent: for then the manner of doing, as order, decencie, sobrietie, doe in a manner specificate the action.

Circumstantiæ interdum constituunt actionem in specie moris, aliàs reddunt actionem meliorem, & malam peiorem.

Archip. Ye seeme to confound: for the circumstances containe all the foure causes, as vvho, vvhat, &c. which ye referre all to the formall cause, or manner of doing.

Epaph. In the enumeration of circumstances, vve must not take *Quis* who for the efficient cause, but for his condition or qualitie, as a privat or publick person, a Pastor or a Professor, a king or a subiect: Nor *quid* vvhat for the matter or obiect, but the qualitie thereof: as, whether it be a matter of salvation, or of life, or of geare: Nor *Quomodo*, for this forme, but whether it bee done openly or secretly, simply or craftily, &c. all which aggrege the same. The end is first either immediatly or mediatly, either actually or virtually the honor of God of all the ingredients of a good action, the most common in profession, the rarest in intention, and yet the worthiest and sweetest. And, next our own and our neighbours good, the principall is the edification both of our owne soules, and of the salvation of others, contrarie to the great evil of offence.

Mediatè vel immediatè actu vel virtute, ut requisitus reddere queas rationem à fine cur hoc feceris vel omiseris.

Archip. Ye say then in summe, that a good man doth that which is good or indifferent, in the best manner, to a good end. All foure may be brought unto two, *Bonum* good, and *Bene* well. Because no man but a good man can doe an action well with due regard of the circumstances, and the end. If it be neither *bonum* good, nor *bene* well, it is neither with the Holy Ghost, nor of the Holy Ghost. If it be *bonum* good, and not *bene* well, as the good workes of naturall or civill men; it is of the Holy ghost, but not with the holy Ghost. If it be *Bene* well and not *Bonum* good, it is with the Holy Ghost, but not of the Holy Ghost. But if it be *bonum* good and *bene* well, it is both with and of the holy Ghost,

Epaph. That is right, and the common saying, that *Good Workes are to be judged by Adverbs*, is true of all good actions: for all must bee done vvith the Apostles adverbiall conditions, *Soberlie, Righteously, Godly*. But it is especially true of good actions, vvhere the matter is indifferent, because they haue no goodnesse at all, but that vvhich is from the Adverbe. And therefore vve may call actions that haue *Bonum* good, and vvant *Bene* vvell (as the good actions of the Heathen, properly *peccata per accidens*, sinnes by accident: as being *bona opera per se*, good actions in themselues. The actions that haue for their matter a thing indifferent, and vvant *Bene* vvell, as the actions of Christians about things indifferent (for they cannot be called *bona opera per se*, good workes in themselues) and therefore the more improperly *Peccata per accidens*, sinnes by accident. Looking upon an action good in the matter, vve may say that it is good simply *Necessitate consequentis*, by necessitie of consequent; because all actions commanded of God are good. But looking upon the actions even of Christians in matters indifferent, vve can onely say that they are good *necessitate consequentiæ*, by necessitie of consequence, supponing that whatsoever action hath the former conditions, is good: and that the actions vve judge of, haue the conditions.

Bona opera non nominibus sed adverbijs sunt indicanda, Pie, sobrie, iuste.

Archip. Qui vise loing jamais ne rend son coup heureux. I vvould haue you to make some application of these foure causes to our own matters.

Epaph. Seeing all our actions even the meanest, require all the foure causes or conditions, much more our actions in the worship of God. And yet more, the actions which we must not doe once all our life, but as frequently as vve are partakers of such a vvorship. But most of all the actions and acts of a kirk assembled for direction in the matters of Gods vvorship. For if they faile either in the matter taking that for indifferent, vvhich is evill, or in the manner of their convening and proceeding without regard to the formalizing circumstances, or in the end respecting the pleasure of man more then the pleasing of God, & the profit of the kirk; in so far as they faile, they are sinfull. And according to the qualitie of the defect, take upon them the kind of sin under which they may be ranked. Let the consciences of professors try, whether the acts of Perth Assembly dare undergoe this examination: Whether it was a lawfull Synod in it selfe: Whether they cleared the indifferencie of their articles, before they concluded them, vvhether the circumstances may giue it a dash. *Quis?* vvho? the kirk of Scotland so vvorthily reformed. *Quid?* what? that which they had formerly spued out; and had sworn and subscrived never to lick up againe. *Vbi?* vvhere? not in another Kirk or Nation, but even vvhere they

Applied to the purpose.

they had sworne. *Quibus auxiliis?* by what meanes, God and the world now knowes. *Cur?* wherefore? for conforming to a glorious kirk, but in that wherein she was never reformed. *Quomodo?* how? God and their owne hearts know. *Quando?* at what time? when Antichrist is prevailing, Papists presuming, and Idolatry re-entring. And finally, whether they had either the glorie of God, or the salvation of the people in their sight, which indeed none during that Assembly were so shamelesse as to pretend. And let every one try himselfe, whether hee bee moved by the spirit of God to practise according to the constitutions thereof, whether he be throughly persuaded that the matter is indifferent: whether he keepeth all the requisite circumstances; and whether his practise bee free of offence. The superstitious conscience will please it selfe in the shew of humble will-worship. The sleeping and senceleſſe conscience will judge all to be alike till the Lord give a wakening with his terrors. The bold conscience, after it hath tarried seven dayes, will venture the sacrifice with Saul, 1. Sam. 13. 10. And the accusing conscience will take leave with Naaman, and say, *In this thing the Lord be mercifull unto mee*, 2. King. 5. 19.

Civill and ecclesiastick power in things indifferent.

Archb. Thinke yee that our superiours Civill and Ecclesiasticke, may not command in things indifferent at their pleasure?

Epaph. None of themselues will thinke it. Albeit I had rather learne my owne lesson of obeying, then teach their lesson of commanding, I shall in humilitie tell you my minde of both: As no power under God can make that good which he forbiddeth; nor make that evill which he commandeth: nor make that good or evill materially, which hee hath left indifferent; So is there no power civill or Ecclesiasticke, that in a matter of it selfe most indifferent may command against pietie, decencie, sobrietie, or charitie. Man hath libertie of will to command that which is lawfull: libertie of counsell to command what is expedient; but the Lord onely hath libertie of pleasure to command what he will. Many things also are permitted to the Kirk, but nothing without limitation. It is a matter indifferent to eat of such a meat, yet no power can command to eat of it against Pietie, that is, except the grace be sayd, and it be sanctified by prayer. No power can enjoyne the doing of an action indifferent against decencie, whether in place, time, or manner of doing. Against sobrietie to use our libertie as an occasion to the flesh, or to passe the bounds of temperance, frugalitie, modestie. Against charitie, because when the matter about which wee are exercised, is indifferent, as in the manner of doing impietie, indecencie, intemperancie, so al-

Habet homo libertatem arbitrij ad jubendum quod licet: libertatem consilij ad jubendum quod expedit: Deus solus habet libertatem complacentiæ ad jubendum quod libet.

Ὁ νόμος οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐ νόμος οὐ νομοθέτης.

so scandall is a sinne, and for the most part more incurable and perilous then the former: whether is bee more guilty a stumbling blocke making the vveake to fall, or *scandalizing* an offence, grieving them, or making them to hate: the word calleth it murther. And so it is *ratione medij*, in respect of the meane, because it is apt to destroy: albeit *ratione eventus*, in respect of the event, none shall perish for whom Christ died. *Cursed is hee that layeth a stumbling block in the way of the blinde, and all the people shall say, Amen: Woe unto him that doth offend one of these little ones. &c.*

Archip. I grant yee cannot say ill enough of scandall; but must not I obey my superiors although all should be offended, the scandall (if there be any) is but taken: and I haue no purpose to give scandall to any, but onely to obey.

Epaph. Albeit I speake against the practise of the vvorld, yet I shall not willingly decline from the received doctrine of the grounds reformed Kirkes, and the better sort of the Scholasticks, in concerning answering your obiection by three grounds. In the meane time yee might haue left your Parenthesis; *He that denieth that there is any scandall, is like him who could not see the Sonne for the light.* The bleating of the sheepe, and the lowing of the oxen are loud in Samuels eares. The vvalking of Diogenes is meerest for a Zeno, vvho against all reason denyeth that there is any motion. The first ground is, that Ecclesiastick and civill constitutions about things indifferent oblige not *Extra casum scandali* out of the case of Scandall, by reason that they are supponed to intend edification. Secondly, as evetie scandall is sinne, *Passiue* in the patient, *Actiue* in the agent, and mixt in both; so scandall actiue or given, hath place not onely in things vnlawfull, but indifferent. *Blessed is hee that condemneth not himselfe in that which hee alloweth.* Rom. 14. And that which is mixt scandall commeth neerest to the nature of actiue; hardly or never can there bee a publick scandall taken, except it bee also actiue and given. Seeing there must bee offences, not onely by necessitie of Gods decree, of Satans malice, of mans corruption of the end, that the Kirke may bee tried, but also by necessitie of the obiect, that is, of the infirme and weake, who cannot keepe themselues from stumbling, vvhen the rocke lieth in the way; all occasions of taking of offence ought to be removed and prevented. Otherwise *Ezekias* might haue suffered the brasen Serpent to stand, the scandall whereof was onely taken

Statuta Ecclesia per se non sunt de necessitate salutis, sed solum ex institutione humana obligant ex voluntate legislatoris, sed non ex ipsa lege naturali et rationali. D Field. l. 4. c. 14.

præscientia & indicio) divina, necessitate efficientiæ, Satanica semper malitia, & humanæ corruptionis & necessitate finis: communi vero necessitate objecti, infirmis a scandalo sibi satis cavere nequeuntibus.

But had he ſuffered, farre more had he ordained it by law to ſtand after the abuſe, the ſcandall had been mixt, and more actiue then paſſiue. Thirdly, ſcandall is given not onely in *intentione operantis*, in the intention of the doer: but alſo *negligente operante in conditione operis*, the doer being negligent in the qualitie of the deed. Not onely that perſon giveth ſcandall amongſt us, vvho by the ceremonies would reduce Poperie, or ſymbolize with the Papiſts, or knoweth them to be dangerous: but he alſo vvho not knowing or fearing danger, yeeldeth to practiſe them, and that *propter conditionem operis*, by reaſon of the qualitie of the deed. As the Nurſe that purteth a knife into the hand of her childe, of meere negligence, yea albeit it vvere of loue; and he that ſuffereth a goaring Oxe to goe abroad, farre more if hee let him looſe. Our owne late act of Parliament (not unlike that ancient law of Mallano remembred by *Sigonius*) for preventing of fire in the Towne of Edinburgh, is a ſtrong confutation of the firſt act. It was unlawfull among the Iewes to bow before an Idoll for the knitting of the ſhooe latchet. His ſhift vvas but ſilly vvho vvould haue ſeemed to fall downe before the Perſian King to take up his ring, vvhich he had purpoſely let fall, and not to doe the king honour, vvhich he vvould haue avoyded. *Eleazar* vvould neither eat ſwines fleſh, nor ſeeme to eat it by eating common fleſh. And *Secundus* vvould neither deliver the Bible, nor ſeeme to be one of the Traitors by delivering another thing to be burned. *Amos*, ſayth *Ribera*, putteth the event for the cauſe, vvhen he ſayth, cap. 2. *They went in to a maide to defile mine holy name.*

Archb. All that ye haue ſayd of Scandall goeth vvell vvith the courſe of the vvord, & ſeemeth agreable to the doctrine of Chriſt denouncing vvoe upon them not only vvho giue, but alſo by vvhom offences come. Agreeable to the doctrine of the Apoſtle, Rom. 14. after he had taught obedience to the Magiſtrate, chap. 13. His reaſon is morall, perpetuall, peremptorie, and vniverſall without exception of contramanding authoritie. And therefore the concluſion muſt be of the ſame ſize. His meaning is not, Deſtroy not him for vvhom Chriſt died, except *Ceſar* command. But not ſo agreeable to the doctrine of all our Divines, *Bezas* himſelfe is alledged to the contrarie, epiſt. 24. And ye know your ſelfe vvhat D. *Downame* ſayth.

Epaph. No man can be ſo braſen faced, as to cite that Epiſtle of *Beze* to the contrarie vvithout bluſhing, except it be *Mr. Mitchelſon* our Doctor, vvho I remember in the firſt argument of his Plagiarie and poore pamphlet taken from the nature of things indifferent, bringeth the vvords going before, and following of that Epiſtle for his purpoſe, and perfidiouſly paſſeth theſe; *Rerum medium*

alarum usus nimium promiscuus coercetur, tum in genere, tum in specie; In genere per legem charitatis, &c. that is, the too common use of things indifferent is restrained both generally, and in particular, generally by the law of charitie, &c. While *Beza* giveth two rules for their vse and restraint, one first and generall of charitie, belonging to all men, and all matters of that sort, that nothing otherwise indifferent and lawfull be done vvhereby our brother is destroyed; or left undone, vvhereby he may be edified: he alledgeth onely the second of civill and Ecclesiastick determination, vvhich is lesse principall, and may impose nothing contrarie, nor prejudiciall to the former, vvhich is the main and principal, grounded upon the originall law of nature.

Archip. But what say ye to the other?

Epaph. A wonder it is, vvhat Doct. *Douname* can meane in good earnest by marching loyalty in order after piety, and before sobriety and charity. If the Magistrate haue absolute and unbounded authority in things indifferent (which for fashion sake he denyeth in the generall) What can be the cause why, the matter being indifferent he giveth not the first place to loyalty preferring it to piety? or if limited and restrained, why shall not sobriety and charity be the limits as well as piety? Albeit it bee lawfull to pledge the King his health; yet neither sobriety nor piety ought to be banished from the table. Neither can he say that drinking beyond the bounds of sobriety for once, carryeth a greater guiltinesse then to practise that many times vvhich may destroy a soule for whom Christ dyed. May there not be cases of Antinomy, or opposition of the lawes of loyaltie and pietie, of loyaltie and sobriety, as well as of loyaltie and charity. And as he alledgeth, that there is *Scandalum* ἀμφιρρόπον equall offence in the one; albeit he know that authority judging them to be indifferent may well be displeased but cannot be scandalized, at least in *æquilibrio*, in equality with the other scandall. May there not be ἀμφιρρόπη *peccati*, equalitie of sinne in the other, in times or places where there ruleth an ungodly or intemperate Magistrate. *Bezaes* order making charity the first and generall rule; and seconding that with the constitutions of the Kirk and lawes of the Common-wealth is divine. *Dounames* putting mans authority before sobriety, and charity, is humane.

Archip. But the scandall ceaseth to be sinne, or at least to bee our sinne, when our superiours command.

Epaph. Disobedience were unlawfull if upon commandement of our superiours the scandall either ceased to be, or ceased to be sin, or ceased to be our sinne.

But first it ceaseth not to be. For the commandement of the Magistrate maketh it the greater, as the boldnesse of the Papist, the mocking of the profane, the griefe of the godly, the superstition of the simple in these late daies haue declared, and still the more that the ceremonies be urged and received, the greater shall the offence be, and the greatest when there shall be least contradiction. Next the scandall ceaseth not to be sinne, because scandall being scandall it must be sinne, as idolatry is ever idolatry, there is no dispensation of the law of nature. Thirdly, it ceaseth not to be our sinne, when the sin is in *modo imperandi*, in the manner of commanding. The superiour may haue guiltinesse in commanding, and the inferiour be innocent in obeying: but when the sinne is also in *re imperata*, in the thing commanded; as the matter commanded being against piety, decency or charity, the guiltinesse is on both sides.

Archip. For removing of scandall we ought not to disobey, but to render a reason of our obedience.

Epaph. If rendring a reason of out doing might quit us of sin, as some haue pretended, the question of things indifferent might be soone put to an end, the Apostle his doctrine abridged, and all the Christian Kirkes brought to quietnesse. But that which the Schoole-men utter more obscurely, that the actions of the understanding depend upon our own will, or upon the will of others, *quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*, is clear in experience. We may make our selues or others to thinke upon the matter, but to assent or dissent it depends not upon our will. They are little exercised in catechizing of the ignorant who maintaine such grounds.

Archip. But I am sure the commandement of the superiour at least extenuates the sinne.

Epaph. Comparing sinne with sinne, the fault is not so great upon particular tentation, without purpose and intention to fail against the rule of Charity, or Sobriety, or Piety: as to obey a Law injoyning the practise of a thing indifferent against sobriety or charity with purpose of obedience. For in the one thou simply neglects the commandement of God, but in the other, with a foule disparagement of Antinomy, thou prefers the commandement of Man.

Archip. Necessary duties must not be left for offence of any.

Epaph. D. *Downam* his reason taken from the distinction of necessary and arbitrary dueties can haue no place heere. For albeit communicating and preaching be necessary duties, and must be done albeit all the world should stumble, yet kneeling and conforming, which man hath made their adherents, are no ne-

cessary

necessary duties; but at the most indifferent ever in the opinion of the practisers: and therefore in the case of offence to be left. Might he not upon the same ground conclude that seeing drinking is a necessary duty, therefore rather ere I want drinke at a time I will yeeld to drinke aboue Sobriety. The offence commeth not by communicating, nor drunkennesse by drinking; but the offence commeth by kneeling, and drunkennesse by excessiue drinking.

Dimittendum est propter scandalum omne quod potest praetermitti, salua triplici veritate, scilicet, doctrinae & Institutis Nicen. gloss. apud Tom. 2.

Archip. The great danger in this purpose is, that declyning the one extremity, ye fall into the other.

Epaph. To tell you my mind, I acknowledge an essentiall kirk, the Congregation of the faithfull, a representatiue Kirk, the Assembly representing the Kirk essentiall. But I know no virtuall Kirk on earth; whether the Bishop of Rome, or any other man, as having in himselfe eminently and virtually (for so the Papists professe, and others in part practise) such certainty of truth, and soueraignty of judgement, that he may command what he will in any controverted matter Ecclesiasticall, whether he command that which is unlawfull, or that which is lawfull to be done in an unlawfull manner, that is against the generall rules. When *Alexander* the Great came to Ierusalem he desired his image to be erected in the Temple. The high Priest was willing to please him in every thing, wherein God was not displeased: and therfore refusing with all reverence that idolatry, what he might, and what served more the Kings honour he offered cheerefully. First, to beginne the accounts of their times from his entry into Ierusalem: and secondly, to name all their first borne sonnes *Alexanders* from him. What is civill, what domestick, what is *Caesars*, what is ours, let them be forbidden water and fire, and their Citie sowne with salt who refuse it. Let Christs royall prerogatiue who will not giue his glory to another be kept for himselfe. May we not in so narrow a strait, where we can see no way to turne, neither to the right hand nor to the left, open our mouthes with the obedient Asse, and say, *Haue We used to serue so in other matters?* Let other men speake for us. *In the Ministery of the Kirk* (saith P. Martyr) *both the Ministery it selfe is to be considered, and the persons that beareth the function. As for the person of the minister he is subiect to the Civill power, for he is a liege; he payeth tribute or taxation as others, and undergoeth the censure of manners: But as for the Mi-*

In Ministerio Ecclesiae spectandum est & ipsum ministerium, & persona quae id fungitur. Quod ad personam attinet, civili potestati minister subditur: nam et civis est & quemadmodum alii tributum solvit, & morum censuram subit. Sed quod attinet ad Ministerium aliquam etiam modo subiicitur Magistratui: quia si contra verbum Dei aut docet aut admittit, ecclesiastica coercibitur à civili Magistratu. Nec tamen ab eo sed à verbo Dei regulas et rationes petit sui functionis [illegible] In Jud.

quiers,

nistery it is in some sort subiect to the Magistrate. For if he teach or minister the Sacraments against the word of God he is to be repressed by the Civill Magistrate: and yet not from him but from the Word of God shall he seeke the rules and reasons of his function. Worthy *Fran. Iunius* layeth before the eyes of authority a threefold consideration; 1 *by What authority or example is the Magistrate moved to thinke, that the holy Kirk of God, and the simplicity of the mysteries of Christ (Whose Voice alone his sheep know and follow, because the Father commanded that it should be heard onely, Ioh. 10 27) should be clothed about With humane traditions Which Christ himselfe reiecteth.* 2 *To What end thinketh he, that his things must be fashed unto the Ordinances of God? For if it be that she may be conforme unto others it were more equitable that other Kirkes should conform to them Who come nereest to the Word of God, according to Cyprians counsell; not that they should ioyne themselues to other Kirkes. If it be that all things may be more decent, What can be more decent then the simplicity of Christ? What more simple then his decency? If it be for fulfilling of his owne Will let it be so. But it must be remembred that the Will of God is the greatest necessity, and that the Kirk of God in things divine is not subiect to the Will of men.* 3 *What events may follow upon humane traditions, as daily experience hath shewed.*

Primum quo autoritate ecclesiae adducitur ab divino sanctae Dei Ecclesiae & simplicitatem mysterium Christi (cujus solius vocem agnoscunt & sequuntur oves, quia solus audiri mandavit Pater, Ioan. 10 27) circumvestiendum esse putet humanis traditionibus quas repudiat Christus. Secundum, quem ad finem res suas adhuc divinas? Judicant oportere. Nam si eatenus aliis conformetur animus fore alias Ecclesias iis conformari quae verbum Dei accedunt proximi, ex consilio Cypriani, quam hoc se illis adiungere. Sit honestissima forma omnia, quid simplicitate Christi honestius, quid honestate simplicius. Si voluntatem, esto sane, ut illud cogitandum, voluntatem Dei esse necessitatem summam nec Dei Ecclesiam in divinis rebus voluntatibus humanis obligari, tertium, quis tandem eventus ex humanis traditionibus consequatur, ut diuturna ostendit experientia, Ecclesiast. l. 3 c. 5.

Archip. You ever tell me what he should not doe. But I would heare somewhat positiue of his power in things Ecclesiasticall: what he should and may doe in times of contention especially.

Epaph. That is not my part ye know: yet this I may say, that as in the matter of heresie; so in time of schisme for matters of ceremonie, the Magistrate calleth a Synode representing the whole Kirk, having power definitiue and the iudgement of iurisdiction according to the Word. Right as naturally in the soule of man, to make it plaine by comparison; the Imperiall power of the will may command the understanding, *quoad exercitium*, that is to pause upon a certaine purpose, and to giue her determination, but not *quoad specificationem*, that is to assent, or dissassent, or to determine to the one side more then the other. And as the same Will hath *actum Elicitum* as her essentiall and most proper operation, and *actum imperatum* produced by another power

of

of the ſoule at the commandement of the will, as the underſtanding to ponder and conſider, the apperite to exerciſe temperance, fortitude &c. and out of her deſire and choice of the ſoveraigne good of ſoule and bodie, ſetteth all the powers of ſoule and bodie to worke: Even ſo the Magiſtrate hath *actum eliritum* in civill affaires, his eſſentiall and moſt proper object: in the matters of Gods Kirk whether for order or juriſdiction, albeit he hath not *actum elicitum*, he may neither preach the word nor miniſter the Sacraments, nor define by himſelfe regularly: yet he hath *actum imperatum*: he may command miniſters to preach the word, to celebrate the Sacraments, and to convene and determine according to the Word.

Archip. And ſay you no more, Is that all?

Epaph. And more then this. He hath in all Eccleſiaſticall canons or concluſions a threefold judgement: One common as a Chriſtian, another proper as a Magiſtrate, the third perſonall as a man ſingularly gifted. As a Chriſtian, the judgement of diſcretion, that he beleeue not or practiſe any thing of all that which the Kirk concludeth, if he find it to be againſt the word. As a Magiſtrate, he muſt haue the judgement of his vocation to diſcerne what concerneth the ſpirituall weale & ſalvation of his ſubjects, and accordingly to adde or ſuſpend the ſanction. And as a ſingular Magiſtrate having more then ordinary gifts of knowledge and piety, he ought to haue ſuch intereſt in determination and juriſdiction with the Kirk, as others who haue more then ordinary gifts.

Archip. What take ye to be the part of the Profeſſors?

Epaph. Gods people when the matter cõmeth to their practiſe, muſt haue the firſt (and further they craue not) the judgement of diſcretion to try the ſpirits whether they be of God or not. In caſe the Kirk whether of ignorance, or contention, or a man pleaſing humour, determine in doctrine againſt the word, or in ceremony againſt the generall rules, their dutie is to obey God rather then man. He was a Pope and not a Proteſtant that concluded. *If a beaſt touch the mountaine he ſhall die; therfore the Laicke ſhall not meddle with Scripture and matters of the Kirk.* We know that even poor folk haue ſoules, and ſhould haue knowledge and faith to ſaue them.

Profeſſors ſhould haue the judgement of diſcretion.

In verba Dei juramus ſimplicium, in Eccleſia verba ejus ut nimirum quatenus a deo hanc poteſtatem accepit per verbum ipſius, & intra metas à verbo illo poſitas religioſe ſe continet. Tiler. 269. *Quando vel in forma Synodi vel in deciſione peccatum eſt, ut alterutra vel neutra ſit legitima, tali Synodo impune omnino contradici poteſt, neque recipiendum eſt tale Concilium, nec vero eſt nullum, irritum, nihilque facendum Damen.* 474. *Synodi decreta etiam pii magiſtratus ſummi edictis ſancita & confirmata ad mittenda ſunt, quatenus verbo Dei conſentiunt. Quod nemo eſt qui negaverit, niſi qui cum Cardinalibus & Canoniſtis dicit: verum quia in utroque teſtamento reſonat, tanquam lata proponere & adverſarium partium juſtas: non autem quæ in Concilii & Synodis reſonat, lata deciſionem continet.*

Archip. Knowledge in the Professours is most necessary, but the smaller measure may serue if their Leaders be full of light. Albeit ye and others who stand against ceremonies haue more affection then knowledge, and more zeale then learning, (as I haue often heard you called, ignorant wilfull men, and that there is scarcely a mouth full of learning amongst you all) yet there be many great Clerkes, and a faire procession of learned Doctors of Divinity in the Kirk of Scotland, to whose fatherly care the people may safely commit the matters of the worship of God, and of their own salvation: let them onely obey their superiours, and attend their secular affaires.

Epaph. I like not jesting in a serious purpose. *Ierome* was moved to write a booke *de viris illustribus*, by the like objection of the Heathen against Christians. The Papists plead their cause at some times by objecting of ignorance to the Reformed Kirkes. But I never heard it of any of our adversaries against us, except of some vaine glasterers, vvho thinke themselus learned, because their dwelling hath marched a long time with bookes and learning: and know not their own ignorance because they paine not themselues to reade and consider difficulties. Some men care not for the losse of the truth, so they may appeare learned. We stand not for our learning, so we may retaine the truth: we haue learned Christ, in comparison of whose excellencie we thinke all things losse, and are ready to defend the least and loweſt hemme of his garment, against all such Bragadochies. Albeit our Clergie hath gotten the names of the greateſt Clarkes, yet never had the people more need of knowledge then now. When great titles began among the Iewish Doctors, as *Orgnolam*, *Rabboni bakkodesh*, the light of the vvorld, the holy Doctor, *Vrim and Thummim*, both light and holineſſe was wearing away. And so was it in the Christian Kirk, when the titles of *Comestor*, *Magister sententiarum*, *Doctor irrefragabilis*, *Doctor Seraphicus*, *Doctor Fundatissimus*, *Doctor Illuminatus*, *Doctor Solennis*, *Doctor Resolutus*, *Doctor Subtilis*, *Doctor Angelicus*, &c. made men so famous. Albeit we could point at the men and the gifts amongst our selues, and say, this is *Doctor Resolutus*, and that is *Doctor Solennis* &c. Albeit our Doctors for their subtilizing distinctions might with *Antonius Pius* be called *Cuminii sectores*; so long as they stand upon their learning they would proue to the people like the Starres which giue but small light, they are so high. The Lord vvill confound the wise and learned that he may haue the glory to himselfe. When vaine imaginations, vaine altercations, vaine affectations, the three peccant humours of learning doe abound in some; and idleneſſe, covetousneſſe, and ambition, the threefold consumption of the

Kirk

Kirk appeares in others, then is the Clergie ſick, and hath need of Phyſicke: then haue poore people need of knowledge, and to beware of contagion. To vvhat ſerue the Prieſts roddes except they bud? The high Prieſt in the time of the ſecond Temple was called *Vir multarum veſtium*, the man with the many clothes, but he wanted the oile. We haue the man with the many cloathes *pura malis quærimus* with great pompe, but the oile is dryed up. The golden girdle that had wont to be about the pappes ſoon after the reformation, is now ſlacked and ſliding down towards the loines, where it was before, *Rev.*15 6: The ſea of glaſſe and chryſtall is beginning to be muddy, & to be turned into bloud, becauſe of this mountaine of Epiſcopacie, and preferment that is caſt into it, Revel.8 8. And therfore if ever at any time ſince the reformation, our people haue need at this time of the judgment of diſcretion. And now to cloſe this point of Eccleſiaſtick coſtitutions I wiſh you and all others, by holy judgement to diſceme of the firſt inſtitution of theſe ceremonies; that therby ye may judge of the following ratification, and of your own obſervation. I haue ſhewed you that they are not in nature indifferent, and giving them to be indifferent, that the Apoſtolick rules are not kept. And therefore albeit the concluſion of that Aſſembly were Eccleſiaſticall and publick in reſpect of the perſons aſſembling, ſeeing it is not Eccleſiaſticall and publick *ratione modi & medii*, in reſpect of the manner and meane uſed to bring on the concluſion, but in that reſpect civill and private, how can it be counted Eccleſiaſticall. No man at that time durſt ſo much as pretend piety, decency, or charity. The Kings pleaſure, the averting or preventing of the kings wrath; what ſhall become of your Kirk, if the King countenance it not (ſuch a Theologicall and inartificiall arguments as his Majeſtie never did uſe in any Aſſembly, and could not haue heard with patience) caryed the concluſion. As the interpretation of Scripture, which is onely private *ratione perſonæ*, in reſpect of the perſon interpreting, and not in reſpect of the manner and meanes of interpretation is not to be judged the interpretation of a private ſpirit: ſo upon the contraty, the concluſion of perſons Eccleſiaſticall, proceeding from a private or civill cauſe, cannot be eſteemed Eccleſiaſticall. The concluſion can haue no greater force nor no other quality, but that which it receiveth from the reaſon whereupon it depends. He that ſtriveth to demonſtrate a ſupernaturall concluſion by a naturall reaſon, bringeth forth nothing but a naturall concluſion. If the firſt inſtitution be not ſound, the following ratification can giue no new right; and therefore the obſervation muſt be unlawfull.

Inſtitutio. Inſtio. Obſervatio.

Lex humana quatenus ratione vacat obligandi non habet vim communis boni deficit.

Archip. In this third Evangelicall and Chriſtian determination,

ye haue spoken of Divine institutions, and of Ecclesiasticall constitutions, I would heare now what ye are to say of Humane inventions succeeding in the Christian Kirk to Pharisaicall conceits in the Iewish Kirk.

Humane inuentions in the Christian Kirk.

Epaph. They would all suddenly evanish if the word of Christ were obeyed in his own house. The lines and cords of mens wit that creep in and rap out may serue for civill and secular mets and merches. But as the Temple was met with a reed, so hath the Lord ordained a golden reed for the measure of the Sanctuary. In all Planets coniunction is most amiable except the Sun, which is good by aspect but evill by coniunction. When man presumeth to equall his ceremonies with divine Institutions, and to set down a positiue worship with the worship of God, that marreth all.

Archip. That is the sacrilegious boldnesse and presumption of the Romane Kirk; all the reformed Kirkes abhor wilworship.

Epaph. I wish it were so indeed. The more learned of the Papists make three sort of ceremonies: some to be the efficient causes of grace, as the Sacraments: some to remoue the impediments of grace, as the signe of the crosse, holy water &c: and some to serue for comelynesse and order. They confesse that the Kirk hath no power to institute ceremonies of the first sort, but of the second and third onely. Againe, the Defenders of our ceremonies stand onely for the third sort in word, but agree indeed with the Papists, as appeareth two wayes. 1 They take in under the name of rites, for order and decency, many of the second sort of Popish ceremonies, vvhich the Papists make forcible to remoue impediments. And whatsoever is pretended, it is well enough known of the Crosse, Surplice, Holydaies &c. that they are superstitiously used, vvheresoever they haue place; and more ascribed to them then to Christs own Ordinances. 2 Vnder the name of rites serving for decency and order, they take in all such ceremonies, as they thinke may adde or lend ornament unto the worship of God, as is manifest out of the doctrine and very definitions of things indifferent, written by *Meisnerus* and *Puel* in diverse Kirks. A wide dore for the entry of the whole multitude and theatricall pompe of popish rites, the destroyers of the simplicity of the Gospell; and like clouds without raine promising that which they giue not, and which should be sought and is to be found in the Ordinances of Christ. Till this dore of Traditions be shut, mens inventions will be ever intruding themselues, take the place of divine institutions, and more and more be multiplied.

Traditionum non potest esse certus numerus, ut quæ actu multa sunt potentia infinitæ. Quod fuit sarcinium pectoris Pontificii hoc nunc est locus de traditionibus non scriptis. Traditionum humanarum observatio est tertiana religionis pestis vulnusque conscientiarum.

Archip. I vvil the more confidently lippen to the grounds, which I haue learned from you concerning the nature & use of things indifferent; vvhen I haue knowne that yee haue tried their stabilitie by the opposition of contrarie forces, especially of that man to whom all our reverend Fathers, and learned Doctors give acclamation of a grand *Sophos* in the ceremoniall cause.

Trial of the foresayd grounds by contrarie obiections.

Epaph. Who is that? For all our domestick Writers are soone seene.

Archip. I meane by him vvho first wrot a resolution for the ministerie, under the name of *D. Lindesay*, and now his [illegible] and second care of ceremonies vvith a parenetick to the Ministers of the Kirke of Scotland, vnder the name of *David Brechin*.

Epaph. Ye may know by the change of his name, the effects of his resolution. The operation of it hath been greater *ad intra* then *ad extra*; His exhortation to the ministers concerneth us and our purpose most, because we are of that nnmber, and it advanceth the power of the kirk in things indifferent. As he may vvel vvant opinions to defend by arguments, but (vvhich vvas the cunning of *Chrysippus*) he never wanted arguments for defence of his opinions. His Parenetick had been the more pithie, and his whole proceedings the more plain, if he had first set down the state of the question in the vvords of his own probleme, vvhich he subjoyned to his *Thesis* disputed at Saintandrowes, vvhen he vvas to be graced, but could not passe the presse vvith priviledge: *Whether things indifferent once abused, and for their abuse abolished, &c. Negat.* He could then giue a defiance to all the English Doctors, but the world hath made him vviser since. Secondly, if he had expressed plainly in his exhortation to the Ministers, vvhat vvas the onely argument of his persuasion to enter & proceed in that course; nothing but a Bishoprick, vvhich he vvas vvont to professe as ordinarily in privat as he spake openly in publick, that he knew neither Scripture, reason, nor antiquitie for kneeling; albeit now his birse rise vvhen he heareth the one, and for cloking the other, his pen hath changed *for* into *in force*, as nighest in sound, and therfore a better excuse then that vvhich he gaue out first; *Albeit there were neither scripture, &c.* And thirdly, if for conclusion he had shewn his brethren some overture, for obedience, like that vvhich he once proponed to himself, & talked of to others, that he could so dress the matter, that his people of *Dundie* should hold themselues within the close seats about the vvalles of the new Kirke, and never be knowen vvhether they sate or kneeled, belike hee thought not at that time that sitting fostered profanitie and superstition in all, as he sayth, pag. 5. Or at least, if in dealing vvith his brethren, hee had remembred

remembred vvhat hee vvas once, and almost even now himselfe, and pitied his owne vvonted, nay his late case in our persons, as *Augustine* did the Manicheans, greater heretickes then he thinketh us. *Let them* (sayth he) *be rigorous against you, who never were deceived with the like errour as they see you. As for me, I can vse no bitternesse against you, with whom I should beare now, as I did at that time with my selfe, and deale in as great patience with you, as my neighbours vsed towards me when I was in your errour.* But vvhat hope was there of moderation from his heart and hands afterward, vvho at the first putting off his wit of ceremonies in print, began vvith the ominous change of *Disce pati*, into *Dissipate*, of patience into persecution: vvherein his thankfull Patron willing to do him one good turne for another, and himselfe so forward in the cause, haue given good-proof how vvorthy they are of their *New Motto*.

Archip. I perceiue you are acquaint vvith the purpose; what say you to his preface concerning the extent of the power of the Kirke? thinke ye his grounds sure enough?

Epaph. Compare them with that vvhich yee haue heard, and ye shall kuow there is nothing left to the kirks power in the circumstances vvhich could conveniently be determined by the word, more then vvas left to the kirk of the Iewes, albeit the determination be not so particular, because the one kirk was Oecumenical throughout the vvhole vvorld, the other national in one countrey. 1. For persons bearing office in the kirke, no nation, nor tribe, nor family could be designed more then another, *Quod est à re non à voluntate legislatoris*. Yet the distinction of the bounds belonging to everie synagogue, vvas left to the power of the kirk of the Iewes, no lesse then the distinction of Parishes now to the Christian kirke; and all the distinct office-bearers are prescribed now as well as then. As unlawfull now to bring in a new kinde of ministerie into the kirke, as it vvas at that time; and will prove in the end to be no better then strange fire. 2. For places, there cannot be a common place now for solemne vvorship: for either there behoved to be one for the vvhole Christian vvorld, vvhich no man vvill affirme, except a Roman Catholick; or else one in every nation, vvhich vvere the erecting of a proper religion in everie kingdome, and a making of everie countrey a Canaan by it selfe, and not a part of the kirk vniversall, having communion with all the Saints. But as the Kirk now hath a place of meeting for every congregation, so had the Iewish kirk the like power and libertie in building their synagogues; and no greater holines in the one place then in the other. 3. For times, in vindicating his festivall dayes from the blame of Iudaisme; he denieth that the kirk hath power to make dayes like the Iewish dayes, in appropriating a vvorship to them,

Illi in vos saviant qui nullo tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident. Ego autem in vos saevire omnino non possum, quos sicut meipsum illo tempore ita nunc debeo sustinere & tanta patientia vobiscum agere quanta mecum egerunt proximi mei cum in vestro dogmate rabiosus & caecus errarem.

vvhich

vvhich is not lawfull to performe another day: but seemeth to slip in two things. 1. that hee giveth power to the kirke to make dayes as holy as that day, vvhich is more holy then the Iewish dayes, putting no difference of holinesse betwixt the Sabboth and the dayes appointed by the kirk; but maketh all the difference to be divine institution. As D. *Downame* precept. 4. addeth to the vveekly Sabboths all other Sabboths lawfully ordained by the kirk, *All which are to bee consecrated* (layth hee) *as Sabbaths to the Lord*. And for example of Sabboths lawfully ordained, he bringeth the feasts of Christs Nativitie, Resurrection, &c. giving power to the kirk to make Sabboths, like Gods Sabboths. 2. He slippeth in his appropriations; of the two sorts of it he striveth to remoue the one, that is, the appropriation of the worship to the day, albeit he knoweth that it would not be counted lawfull to solemnize the feast of the Nativitie, Resurrection, &c. upon other dayes; the solemne remembrance of these benefites being the proper vvorship of the dayes, and not the instruction of the people in the grounds of the Catechisme. The solemne vvorship of the Passouer, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, was appropriated to the owne times, yet it vvas lawfull to instruct the people in the knowledge of the benefites at other times. The other appropriation of the day to the vvorship, he passeth vvith silence, as that it made not a Iudaicall difference of dayes. When I say, it is not lawfull to exercise that vvorship another day, and to exercise another vvorship that day, I make difference of dayes both wayes. As I doe of meates, vvhen I say out of a religious distinction of meats, I will eat any meat except that; and no other meat but that. Had it beene the Lords will that his people should haue kept anniversarie and ordinarie feasts, seeing they were no lesse positiue, & might haue been as easily determined as the weekly Sabboths, he had not passed them vvithout determination. Finally, all that he hath set down concerning order, is no more determined in the kirk of the Iewes, then in the Christian kirk: as vvherat, and how the Priest or Levit should begin, proceed, close, Psalmes, praying, reading, preaching, what petition to bee proponed, circumcision in stead of baptisme, the passover in place of the communion, marriage and all things in doctrine, discipline and divine service. What hath the Doctor meaned when he tooke upon him the demonstration of Christian libertie in this poynt, except he could haue brought better instances. There were many poynts of service, as sacrifices, vvashings, anniversarie dayes, &c. vvhich we haue not; but the determination of such as we haue, is as particular as theirs, except vvherein the nationall circumstances make impediment. They had multitude of observations with direction; wee haue the benifit of distinct-

ſtinct direction without the burthen of multitude of obſervations.

Archip. If he had vvell paralelled the Iewiſh and Chriſtian kirk in the particulars, he had not ſet down that for a priviledge, and libertie of the Chriſtian kirk, vvhich is ſo manifeſtly common to the kirk of the old teſtament. What think ye of the extent of the power of the kirk as he hath conſidered it?

Epaph. Some things are eſſentiall, ſome things vniverſall in time and place; both are determined. The individuall circumſtances of particular times, places, and perſonall conditions *pro re nata*, are left to the kirk; even as in policie, œconomie, &c. ſome poynts muſt be left, becauſe they either cannot or need not be determined. In his diſcourſe upon this poynt he proveth vvorthy of his wages; becauſe in the enumeration of ceremonies, he forgets the Surplice & Croſſe, leſt he ſhould croſſe his paterne in any thing, and to giue proofe of his purpoſe of more conformitie. Albeit he cannot deny, but the croſſe, ſurplice, &c. vvhich he dare not remember, are new rites, ſenſible and as dangerous additions, and no leſſe poſitiue in the vvorſhip of God, then ſalt, oyle, ſpittle, holy warter, lights. God giue you and all the miniſters of the Kirk of Scotland, the ſpirit of diſcretion, vvhen ye ſet your ſelues down at the feet of your generall *Preceptor* and preceptorie *Dictator*, to learn rules of obedience in matters indifferent. If obedience be due to the kirke becauſe therby confuſion, ſcandall and ſchiſme is eſchued: then vvhere all theſe evills through obedience do daily encreaſe, obedience to the kirk is diſobedience to God. And vvhether it be lawfull to enquire, and to haue reſpect to ſcandall, after that the Canon is concluded, I referre you to that vvhich I ſayd before of ſcandall.

Arch. All that you can ſay againſt his preface, & the book it ſelf, wil ſeem as ſmal in his phantaſie as the Rhapſodie of Perth aſſembly, againſt which he & his fellow-labourers framed this anſwer.

Epaph. Not the phantaſie of man, but the veritie of God is to be reſpected of us. He calleth that treatiſe a *Rhapſodie*, for what cauſe I know not, except that the author delighteth not after his faſhion to Mercurialize, and borroweth help of the Ancients, of the Schollaſtickes, and modern Divines. Who loveth not the exquiſite Bee-work gathered out of ſo great diverſitie of flowers more then the ſpiders webb twiſted out of her own bowells; vvhich ſtriveth for nothing but to catch the blind and vveak flies, when ſhe hath evil-cerate herſelfe all the yeare long.

Archip. Will ye ſpeak nothing of the particulars contained in the book it ſelfe.

Epaph. Ye haue driven me further already then I intended at the firſt. Particular polemicks are to be referred to their own liſts, yea

I could shew you by a claw or two that ye need not feare the Lyon. In the first words of his answer to the Epistle to the reader (if the answer be his) he denieth that the externall worship of God, and government of the kirk shall ever die till the world be done, how sick soever they be. He is either very simple if he think, that any man meaneth, that in the kirk universal, the worship external shal perish; or very senceleſſe if he deny that it may die in particular kirks, which is the authors meaning, as is evident to the barnlieſt reader, by the words immediatly following; or moſt malitious and sycophanticall in abusing his adversarie and the reader against his knowledge through studie of contradiction. Who could looke for such a stumble in the threshold *Cantheriat in porta*.

Archip. I remember of one ground which he beateth upon continually, and many thank him for it, as freeing them from the guiltines of their oath (albeit they had done against their former practise before their knowledge of this evasion) and bringing the periurie upon you and all their oppoſites. It is taken out of the first confeſſion of faith, Art. 21. *Not that we think that any policie, and one order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times and places. But that they may and ought to be changed, &c.* Of this sort he taketh to be sitting at the communion, &c. because it is not iudged a neceſſarie, but convenient ceremonie.

Epaph. There be two sorts of Eccleſiaſtick ceremonies, some are determinable by a generall law throughout the Christian world, or universal kirk; al which are determined in the word, & therfore are neceſſarie; some again are national, temporall, local, individual, &c. left to the determination of particular kirks, according to the generall rules, and therfore changeable, as is contained in the article. 2. there is a twofold convenience of ceremonies, according to the foreſaid two kinds of ceremonies, the one eſſentiall, the other accidentall; the one is internall or intrinſecall from divine institution, the other external framed to circumstances. Now let him who hath moſt hardned his heart in that course, judge betwixt him and God, whether the one conveniencie or the other be meant, when sitting is judged to be moſt convenient: seeing it is not sayd *moſt convenient* without any further, or moſt convenient to the times, or to the preſent constitution of the kirk, as the Biſh. would haue it, while he boasteth of this so often, saying, that which at one time is more convenient, at another time may be leſſe convenient. But it is expreſly sayd, *Moſt convenient to the inſtitution*, which in all times & places is the same, neither can there be any thing moſt convenient to the institution at one time in one place, & not moſt convenient at another time in another place. The day is coming wherin thanks given for this sort of evasions, shall turne into bitter complaints.

Archip. I haue holden you so long, & ye haue sayd so much beyond my expectation in my first & greatest difficultie concerning the appearance of the indifferencie of the controverted ceremonies, that I am almost at my wits end; and I know ye are so wearied, that I cannot put you to further paines in the remanent difficulties, vvhich are not so materiall.

The second difficultie answered.

Epaph. I would to God that ye and all others were both almost & altogether at their wits end by solid resolution. If my paines can be profitable to that end, care ye not for my wearying. I remember your second difficultie vvas that the ceremonies are concluded in kirk and parliament upon religious and reasonable pretexts, vvhich I cannot deny; if ye meane pretexts of religion and reason, yee may remember first, that the narratiue is onely the pretext, but authoritie is the cause of the conclusion. In reasoning and voting for the articles, no mention of reverence of religion, of reason, but frequent mention of authoritie. In the narratiue of the acts, never a word of authority, but of reverence, religion, reason. That pastors & people vvho either vvere not present, or shall succeed hereafter, looking upon the acts as they are conceived; may think that it was not humane, but divine authoritie, not violence but reason that caried the conclusion. 2. That plausible narratiues are but weak reasons in his eyes, vvho can discern betwixt colours and causes, substances and shadowes. A wittie head never wanted a circumstance to his tale, nor a pretext to his purpose. Men are more troubled to bring things to passe, then to find out pretences. When the notary is once resolved to make a false instrument, hee knoweth it must begin with *In Dei nomine Amen.* *Augustine* sayth that in his time theeues going out under night to steale, used first to guard themselues with the signe of the crosse. Pirats haue their prayers as wel as the honest marchants on whom they prey. *Nero* in slaying his mother, and *Caracalla* in slaying his brother *Geta*, had their owne special pretexts, according to Machiavels direction; and the tempter could alledge scripture against Christ.

Archip. These are odious comparisons, and answer not to my meaning.

Epaph. I make no comparison, but I answer to your generall of plausible pretences. Ye may be any thing that the world will, if ye suffer your mind to be casten in that modell. The Apostle *Col.* 2. giveth two notes of will-worship, which may easily blind the simple; *appearance of wisdome and shew of humilitie.* But true vvorship is vvise & humble indeed, because it is the vvisedome & obedience of God. The vvorldling first layeth downe the conclusion, and then finds out the pretexts. But the godly first seeth the cause, and then the conclusion. In the one, the vvill runneth before the right wit, and

and affection forceth reason. In the other, inlightned reason leadeth the vvill & affections. The one is persuaded before he be informed, the other first informed, and then persuaded. And ever the more knowledge and the lesse conscience we find in any age, vve may look for the fairer pretences, and the fouler conclusions. I might soone close your mouth in this matter by examples out of Ecclesiasticall historie. But that the recording of some subtill pretexts, might perhaps lead unstable soules into great dangers.

Archip. The danger is greater in suppressing them; for I must confesse, that the most part for their direction in a matter of religion, try not the reasons vvhereupon it is grounded; but content themselues vvith any pretext or shift, that they may haue for honesties cause when their vvorldly estate or hopes are in hazard.

Epaph. It may be seen how faire colours haue painted foule errors (even of Paganisme it selfe) by the Apologies of Christians vvritten against the Gentiles, as of *Iustinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius Fœlix*, *Lactantius*, *Iosephus* against *Appion*, *Gregorie Nazianzen* against *Iulian*, *Eusebius*, *&c.* *Symmachus* in that one Epistle vvritten to *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* giveth proofes vvhat may be said in a bad cause. *Durandi rationale* is demonstratiue for Popish practise; and how the Iesuits of late haue shaken a *Minerva* out of their braines, for maintaining multitudes of monsters, I referre to your selfe; and vvill giue but two instances of our purpose, one of heresie under the Gospell, another of idolatry under the Law.

Archip. That vvere sufficient, vvhat heresie meane you?

Epaph. Never was there an heretick that defended a more pestilent opinion with more plausible pretexts, and subtil evasions then *Arrius* and his sectaries: for vvhen they were desired to acknowledge Christ to be the son of God, as he is called in the Creed, they accepted of that word, because the Apostle sayth, *We are all the sonns of God.* When they vvere assayed vvith the word *onely begotten*, they received it, meaning of that dignitie & singular glory in him aboue all the creatures beside. And to this end alledged the known place *Prov.* 8. ἐκτίσε for ἐκτήσε. Thirdly, there was added, *Before the World was made.* This they exponed of the creation of Christ and all the Angels before the vvorld vvas made. The fourth addition, *God of God*, they escaped by acknowledging all the Angells also to bee Gods of God. And the fift, *light of light*, they esteemed to be common to all the godly. *Ye are the light of the World, once darknes, but now light.* When sixtly they excluded adoption by adding, *True God of the true God*, that they admitted also, because the true uncreated God cannot be the author nor maker of false Gods. When seventhly for stopping of this starting hole it was added, *Begotten*

Pretexts for Arrianisme.

not made, they escaped by the place of Deuteronomie, *Thou hast forsaken the God who begat thee*. Never could this monster of heresie be catched by cōfessiō of faith, til at last the kirk was led by the spirit to the vvord ὁμουσιως, vvhich in end proved to be the *Shibboleth*. As the other three words τελεως, ἀδιαιρετως, ἀσυγχυτως, vvere used by other three councels against the other three kinds of heresies, concerning the person of Christ, God-man.

Archip. I perceiue that Heretickes and Polititians vvere not shepheards or Colliers of old, more then the learned seducers in our dayes: that it is hard to frame a confession of faith, vvhich they vvill refuse to subscribe; and yet for any contrarie errour or practise, can soone find some evasion: and that no heresie nor errour ever wanted the owne probabilitie and pretext. Come now to the second instance.

Epaph. It is the Idolatry of *Ieroboam*, which might haue been defended or excused by the kirk and state of that time; as well as the Idolatry of this age by the authoritie and Clergie now.

Archip. Idolatry aboue all other sinnes is the service of the Divells. Idolatry is that to the all-seeing iealous God, vvhich adulterie is to a loving and iealous husband committed in his owne sight. Idolls are things of naught, dung, excrements, sorrowes, abhominations, vanities, lies. Idolaters of all sinners haue the threatning and execution of the greatest iudgements; in this life diseases of all kindes, Levit. 26. vvithout respect of persons, 2. Chron. 21. 18. 19. famine for many yeares, 1. King. 17. the sword, Levit. 26. 26. the desolation of Cities, and scattering of the inhabitants among other nations. All vvhich came to passe in particular upon Israell. In the vvorld to come they shall not inherite the Kingdome of God. And all that are of their fellowship shall be confounded, *Es* 44 11. *Ieroboam* could tell this full well; he heard himselfe rebuked by the Prophet, he felt his arme miraculously first dryed up and then cured againe: he saw vvith his eyes the Altar rent, he lost in one battell fiue hundreth thousand chosen men, 2 *Chron*. 13 17, and the children of *Iudah* prevailed because they relyed upon the Lord God of their fathers, ver. 18, his sonne *Abijah* was taken from him, and Gods hand was still against that house till it vvas sweeped out from the ground. I am sure he could haue no excuse for his sinn.

Epaph. Idolatry hath this evill beside other evils, and aboue the evill of other sinnes, that no man confesseth himselfe to be an idolater, or his vvorship to be idolatry: but ostinately defends, disputes, preacheth, writeth, persecuteth for it; closeth his heart against whatsoever can be said from the word of the Lord against it, and sets his wit on edge to devise pretences, and find out shifts to excuse it.

Archip.

Archip. What could *Ieroboams* Priests or Polititians say for him and his worship?

Epaph. The truth is, that his desire to confirme the Kingdome to himselfe, feare of the alienation of the peoples hearts in case they were suffered to resort to Ierusalem, want of faith to beleeue the promise of God, and to seek counsell of him prevailed so far with him, and with the estates of the Kingdome, that they resolved to set up a worship of their own, not like that of *Iudah*. And vvhen the Priests and Levits, according to their duety, resisted the novation, as liking better of their better warranted old profession: both they, and some of all the Tribes of Israel following the voyce of God in their mouthes, were hardly intreated, vvhereupon there arose a great schisme: The men of *Iudah* and some of *Israel*, objected that they had forsaken God; but the most part of *Israel* judged them to be renters of the unity of the Kirk, rebells against the King, who was advanced by the Lord beside all expectation: vvas their lawfull Prince peaceably disposed, contenting himselfe with his own Kingdome, providing for the good estate of his own people, and using all meanes that they follow not other gods; and esteemed them to be superstitious Precisians in standing out against so gracious a King, commanding nothing against any article of faith, against any fundamentall point of salvation, detesting the Gods of the Nations, and all kinde of idolatry. The matters he urged were but circumstantiall, rituall and variable, and such as the best Kings, having the Lords approbation, had changed before. They could say that the worship vvas the same in substance, that they served the same God who brought them out of Egypt, with the sacrifices and observation of all the statutes kept by all the fathers since the beginning of the world. That their Bullockes, which Precisians called idols were similitudes representing the onely sacrifice of the Messiah in whom they looked for salvation. Were there not Cherubines in the Tabernacle and Temple, and twelu Oxen or Buls of brasse appointed by the wisest King? The Lord forbiddeth such images onely as haue divine worship done unto thē; like the Calfe in the wildernes, turning the glory of God into the similitude of a bullock that eateth grasse. But they could say, that they worshipped not these Calues more then the images of the Cherubines. Are we so grosse when we say, *Behold our Gods*, as to think that they brought us out of Egypt? We speake figuratiuely, as the Arke vvas called the *King of Glorie*, and *the holy Lord God*. Wee vvill rather giue our liues, lands, libertie and all, then commit Idolatry for the pleasure of any Prince; and doe abhorre the abuse of Images, vvhich is to bow down and serue them; albeit we be

Pretence of Ieroboams idolatry.

not of that mind but we may haue them and worship God by them; becauſe we know no place of Scripture to the contrary. The place of worſhip is but a circumſtance; and to tie Gods preſence to any place, who is neere in all times and places to them that call upon him is ſuperſtition. The Arke was not ever in one place but often removed. In *Salomons* own time there was two publick places of Gods worſhip, and *Salomon* ſacrificed in them both. Is not the whole land holy? The promiſe made to *Salomon* of a ſpeciall preſence at Ieruſalem, was tyed to the condition of keeping his Statutes and Iudgements, wherein he hath failed. And therefore as his Throne is thrown down, which the Lord at the ſame time promiſed to eſtabliſh, ſo hath the place loſſed the priviledge of holineſſe. We may plead from Antiquity: for heere is *Bethel*, ſo famous for that glorious teſtimony of his preſence given to *Iacob*, from whom we this day haue the name of Iſrael. *Reheboam* is no wiſer then his father, he may fall into his Idolatry, and ſo Iſrael by reſorting to Ieruſalem may be ſnared. All danger of Idolatry would be prevented, the poore people eaſed of their tedious iournies, and both Prince and people ſaved from *Rehoboams* conſpiracy. All this dinne and diviſion proceedeth of the humours of ſome contentious and avaritious Levits, ſeducing the ſimple people, making them to thinke that God cannot be ſerved but in Ieruſalem after their faſhion in every circumſtance and particular ceremony: and of the doting of ſome perſons of the weakeſt wit and ſex, delighting to goe abroad, to be talked of for zeale, and more pleaſed with any worſhip then that which they haue at home. The obſervation of the Feaſt of Tabernacles upon the 15 day of the 8 month, is but the change of a circumſtance of time. The day was made for man, and not man for the day. It was lawfull by Gods own warrant to keep the Paſſeover on the 14 day of the ſecond month; he careth not for the month ſo the day be kept. It is preſumption to alter things ſubſtantiall in matters of faith or doctrine: but ſuperſtition to ſtand upon circumſtances and variable ceremonies. What can be done, the Lords worſhip cannot be neglected. If the Prieſts of Levi make it nice, will ſtill proue contentious, and lead a faction with them for ſtrengthning the Kingdome of *Iudah*, upon warrant of Antiquity, before the diſtinction of *Levi* was made for orders ſake, others of other Tribes, as vvell qualified as themſelues muſt be put in their places, and they put away as *Abiathar* was by *Salomon*, becauſe he had his hand with *Adoniiah*. It may be vvhen they ſee their places well filled, and the charity of profuſe people, which cannot laſt long to decay, that their giddineſs goe away, and they returne to their right wits. The Prophet that came to the King

when

when his hand dryed up, might haue beene a Witch comming vvith lying vvonders, for he vvas ſlaine by a Lyon: and howſoever he threatned deſtruction he condeſcended upon no time, leſt he ſhould haue been convinced of a lye. *Abijah* dealt not with the King in meekneſſe and ſincerity as became a Prophet; but by his bitterneſſe and paſſion declared that that he vvas partially inclyned to *Iudah*. *Abijah* dyed not before his day. All things come alike to the godly and to the vvicked, to him that ſacrificeth and him that ſacrificeth not. Or if his death vvas untimous it was rather for his ſecret intentions croſſing his fathers courſes, then for any good that was in him towards the God of Iſrael, as the Prophet would haue it.

Archip. You need to goe no further. I haue often thought upon the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, but never could know what pretexts he could deviſe to make all Iſrael to ſinne. And upon the contrary we are blinded, and conſider never the pretexts of the idolaters of our times, but are miſcarryed with their Idolatrie, albeit it equall, if it exceed not that of *Ieroboam*. All men are more equall Iudges of other times then of their own. They can admire the vertues, and condemne the ſinnes of old, or in other places at this time: but can neither diſcerne the one nor the other in the preſent time amongſt themſelues. It is eaſie to finde out a *Since* or *a Foreſmuch*, &c. to begin an Article with, when ſo much may be ſaid for the greateſt abominations. Shall I never by Gods grace ſuffer my eyes to be dazeled with the beauty of colours as I haue done. For all pretences vvil proue but fig tree leaues when the Lord vvho vvill not be mocked, cryeth to the fugitiue conſcience *Where art thou?* And I thinke as little now of my third difficulty of promiſe, that no more ſhall be urged upon the Kirk heereafter.

Epaph. It were good to examine the particular pretences expreſſed in the acts concluding the fiue Articles, but that is done already: And ye may gueſſe by the firſt and greateſt what ſtuffe is to be found in the reſt: 1 The place of the 95 Pſalm which is alledged commandeth not when we come to worſhip God that we fall &c. for ſo kneeling vvere commanded in every exerciſe of Gods vvorſhip: and it vvere againſt Gods commandement to vvorſhip him vvithout falling down and kneeling. 2 Our Kirk uſed not ſitting ſince the Reformation of Religion, becauſe kneeling vvas abuſed, but becauſe it vvas moſt convenient to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, as is declared before. 3 Whither the memory of bypaſt or the ſenſe and multiplication of preſent ſuperſtition may not be a better pretence for the contrary concluſion. I feare the time ſhall giue reply to your third Argument: and I vviſh that the

anſvver

The third difficultie answered.

answer of the third difficultie vvere more difficill than it is, it is the prerogatiue of the promises of God to be beleeved above experience, sense and reason; vve ought to judge of their verity by the judgment of infallibility, of mens persons by the judgment of charity, and of mens speeches and promises, by the judgement of prudence. Christian prudence looketh back upon this course to the very beginning, considereth how it is still working, and seeth the future effects alreadie present in the causes. As there is great difference bewixt one broken linck, and the whole golden chaine of Gods providence; so one ceremony is but a small part of the mysterie of iniquity. I would know vvhat it is to resist the beginning of evill; and vvhether the posterity may justly blame the predecessors, for giving vvay to mischievous practises. It was well said by *Symmachus* though in a bad cause, *Doe so I pray you, that the things Wee haue received When Wee Were children, We may transmit to the posterity When We become old, that the following age may finde nothing to be amended.* Men may promise little for themselues, albeit their intention vvere answerable to their profession, lesse for their superiours whom they dare not challenge, least of all for Satan, who hath the warp of defection rolled up in secret upon the beame of his hellish project, and employeth one malignant wit after another to make out the web, by Gods just judgement ever plaguing former defections with following Apostasie. Never man made count of such promises, but he who first laid his count to keep the vvorld in all cases of the Kirk, that he might haue something to say for his honestie before the world, rather then for the peace of his conscience before God, in vvhose dreadfull sight who dare appeare vvith the vveak promises of sinfull men against his infallible verities?

Iudicium Veritatis, Charitatis & Prudentiæ.

Præstate oro vos ut ea quæ pueri suscepimus, senes posteris relinquamus ne quid futura ætas inveniat corrigendum.

Fourth difficulty of hard success removed.

Archip. When all my forces vvere mustered together in the beginning they made some shew: but now vvhen they are severally provoked to the conflict they bewray their weakenesse: my last souldier called *hard successe*, dare not set out his head.

Frater, frater abi in Cellam & dic miserere meus Deus.

Epaph. His name should not be heard in a cause of this quality. Care of duety belongeth to us, care of successe to God, and not to us. *Luther* had not been the right man if he had been ruled by feare of events, vvhen it was said to him in sad earnest, *Brother, brother take you to your Cloister, and pray to God to help you.* Policie hath so farre prevailed vvith M. *Sprint* that he hath found a false key to open a gate for many to enter vvithin the threshold of ceremonies in case of deprivation, and a back dore to escape by in case of reformation, that his man shall ever fall on his feet. But piety is no temporizer, and in all times of heresie, profanity, impiety, looks to the will of God to doe it for a good successe, and

Res propter resistentiam, laborem, inclinationē, sunt Physice & ethice sed non Theologice impossibiles.

[illegible] first or last. All difficulties are not impossibilities; and many naturall and morall impossibilities proue demonstrations of his power, with whom nothing is impossible. All hearts are in Gods hand, either converting or changing vvhom he converteth not, or restraining vvhom he changeth not, or at least ruling and governing to good ends whom he restraineth not. Ecclesiasticall history points at sixe notable changes of the Christian Kirk, every one of the first fiue including three hundred yeares. In the first three centuries, Piety, simplicity, martyrdomes abounded under persecution. In the next three, by occasion of heresies, learning increased. After that, for three hundred yeares, supremacie and primacie prevailed in the Kirk. The fourth three yeeres was a time of soveraignty and domination over sæcular Princes and Emperours. The last period of the same extent was a time of Mammon and heaping up of riches. At last in the sixteenth hundreth yeare when Kirkmen had no further to aime at: vvhen the unkindly daughter had devoured the mother, and every one vvas saying in his own bosome, *my soule take the ease*; then it pleased the Lord from heaven to pitie his own Kirk in working that blessed reformation, never at any time before so much desired and so little expected. Our Nationall Kirk (so like is she unto her mother during these sixtie yeeres past) hath experienced the like diversitie. We had in the beginning a time of martyrdom, vvith great power and simplicity of the Gospell: a second time of learning abounding with a greater number of Doctors indeed, then this time doth with titles: soone after succeeded a time of primacie, vvhen Pastors sought after preferment aboue their brethren: When that vvas obtained they rested not till in the fourth time they were preferred to the Nobles and Seculars of the land: And now in the fift time, sitting in the highest chaires of honor, they leaue no meane unassayed by taxes and taxations, by plots and pluralities, by simonie and legacie of the quick and of the dead to multiply vvealth, howbeit some of them find the successe of *Alexander* the fift. Why then may we not hope, whatsoever be the present course of second causes, for a reformation, except the feare of worldly shame and skaith in the particulars remembred in the end of your third demand, make us all to fall away, and there be few or none to stand in the gap.

Pauper Episcopus, Pauperior Cardinalis, Pauperimus Papa.

Archip. The danger is great; for the aspersions are very contumelious, and the incommodities greevous, that I feare few shall be able to beare them with courage.

Epaph. He that seemeth to be a ceremoniall Confessour hath the lesse evidence that he shall proue a substantiall Martyr. We haue not so much to regard what is said, as how true it is; nor

what we shall suffer, as vvhat vve haue deserved. Against them all vve might make reply in the vvords of the vvorthiest instruments that haue lived in the Kirk of God after the Apostles, vvho haue been burthened vvith the same and other like imputations. And vvhat is true may be better known then by the slanders of our enemies. 1 By our doctrine of obedience to all our lawfull Superiours. 2 By our practise, vvherein vve haue altered nothing since the time vve vvere esteemed obedient to our superiours; Peace-keepers and peace-makers in the Kirk, and enemies to Papists. 3 By our abhorring the name of Puritanes, vvhich that sect of Heretickes affected, and vvhich the Papists first brought upon us, as the name of *Calvino-papistæ* upon our Opposites, to make our Religion the more odious. And 4 by our unwillingnesse to be shut out of our particular residencies, so long as we are suffered to be faithfull in them, by such as are resident in place, but non-residents in office; leaving their flockes, following after the vvorld, fostering others like unto themselues, requiring of Intrants subscription for qualification, and sending the best qualified spirits, because they haue not learned to subscribe, to hang up their harpes on the vvillow trees; and their silver trumpets prepared for the Temples, about the unworthy walles of other professions.

Archip. I know it vvas given forth of the holy Apostle, that he turned Christian for a vvorldly respect. That *Wickliffe* finding himselfe disappointed of a Bishoprick, became a Schismatick. That *Iohn Husse*, *Ierome* of Prage, and *Luther* all three fell into apostasie because they wanted preferment: yet so mighty was the Lords assisting grace, that they through good and evill report kept the truth, pressed hardly towards the marke: But alas what are vve, whether Pastors or Professours able to beare?

Epaph. If we suffer not greater things for Christ, we are not vvorthy of him: If all make defection our desolation shall be exemplarie. As in the privation naturall there is no regresse to the habit, so Courtiers for the most part find it in the Politicall: others Kirks haue felt it, and we may look for it in the spirituall privation. The Kirk that the Lord speweth out is under a dreadfull and desperate course. 1 Because he plagueth them vvith delight, & will so rejoyce to destroy them and cut them off, as he did before rejoyce in doing the good: 2 because that vomiting imports that he vvill make them a reproach: and 3 because they shall never recover their wonted dignity; for the Lord vvill not returne to his vomit. Gods goodnesse towards us hath been more then ordinary, our sinnes already committed are not common; because vve goe on in a course not of ignorance or infirmity, but in obstinacy

the vvorke of God. In the land of uprightnesse will ye deale unjustly, and will ye not behold the Majestie of the Lord? There be many this day vvho maintaine the same opinions that the fathers defended of old, yet that which vvas onely errour in the fathers is to them heresie. *Origen* and *Tertullian* were so highly respected in their time, that *Epiphanius Cyrilensis* counteth the one the chiefe of the Greeks, and the other of the Latine Fathers: And yet their followers who vvith pertinacy persisted in their errours, against manifested truth, vvere judged Heretickes, and stiled *Origenists* and *Tertullianists*: Therefore our judgement must be answerable, it shall not be common. Men have medled vvith ceremonies and the externall vvorship of God. The Lord hath given rettribution in things externall, if they repent not but goe forvvard against the life and body of Religion: the Lord will not spare their lives and bodies, but shall proceed from famine to the svvord, and other more grievous punishments, vvhereby he shall declare that vvith the frovvard he dealeth frovvardly. They vvho vvill not confesse that to be a sinne against God that they have done, shall be left in his justice to fall into that vvhich shall make them cry, *vvicked sinne! and base thing to the life of God.* And vvho are so hardned that they vvil not heare the voice, and feele the finger of Iehovah in his by-past vvarnings and present judgements, shall be stricken vvith a judgement ere it be long that shall make both their eares to tingle. The Lord hath not left a land vvithout a vvitnesse this yeare, vvrath is gone out from him, and the sword of his vengeance is drawn. When the seales were opened, the voice opened the meaning; afterward the trumpet was sounded for him who would not heare that voice: and for the despiter of the trumpet nothing was prepared but the filling and secret powring out of the viall of judgement. There be many expounding voyces (blessed be our God) in all the corners of this Nation opening up the meaning of the seales: if we be not wise, the next sound may well be loud, but it shall not be articulate to tell men their particular transgressions procuring wrath; and then judgement shall come without advertisement. Long, long, haue the white colours of peace hung in our eye: The Lord is now displaying his bloudie banner, what remaines if we giue not over but that doolefull ensigne of death without mercie. Blessed are they for ever vvho endure to the end: Blessed are they vvho are marked in the forehead, albeit the marke be not sensible to the vvorld, which seeth not the sealed ones, nor can not learne their song: yet it assureth them in the secret of their hearts of the Lords protection, from his devouring An-

† *Adhuc mihi dicendum videtur, nihil esse infelicius felicitate peccantium, quae peccatis nutrimenta suppeditat & malis voluntatibus velut lenire hostis videtur.* Augustin. de Ci. Dei.

Dan. 8. Although when trangressions are come to the full, the Lord raiseth up men of a fierce countenance, and understanding darke sentences, furnished in a time of defection, with gifts most fitting for destruction: The Lord shall notwithstanding saue his own from their craft and cruelty, so farre as serues for their wished blessednesse, shall poure out of his spirit upon his seruants to giue testimony to his glorious truth in the midst of persecution: and shall make them able to discerne betwixt appearance and substance, pretexts and reasons, promises and purposes, successe and conscience, that they goe not blindfolded with the world to perdition.

Archip. I thanke God I am for my part more able to discerne of them then before, and vvish the spirit of discretion to others. But all this time ye haue said nothing of our covenants, oathes, subscriptions, professions, and the particular bonds of this Kirk obliging us beyond all other people and nations: neither haue yee entered into any particular concerning the fiue Articles.

Epaph. It was my part to answer your demands: When ye shall urge, and God shall giue opportunity, I shall expound more largely, and apply more particularly the generall verities expressed before. For this time I onely wish ye be as good as your word in the beginning: to follow hardly when ye see truth going before, and to commit the event to the providence of the most high.

Archip. That is my present resolution, and I hope to die in it. The Lords grace be with you, and with all them that loue the comming of the Lord Iesus Christ, who shall bring an eternall decision upon all the controversies of men.

FINIS.